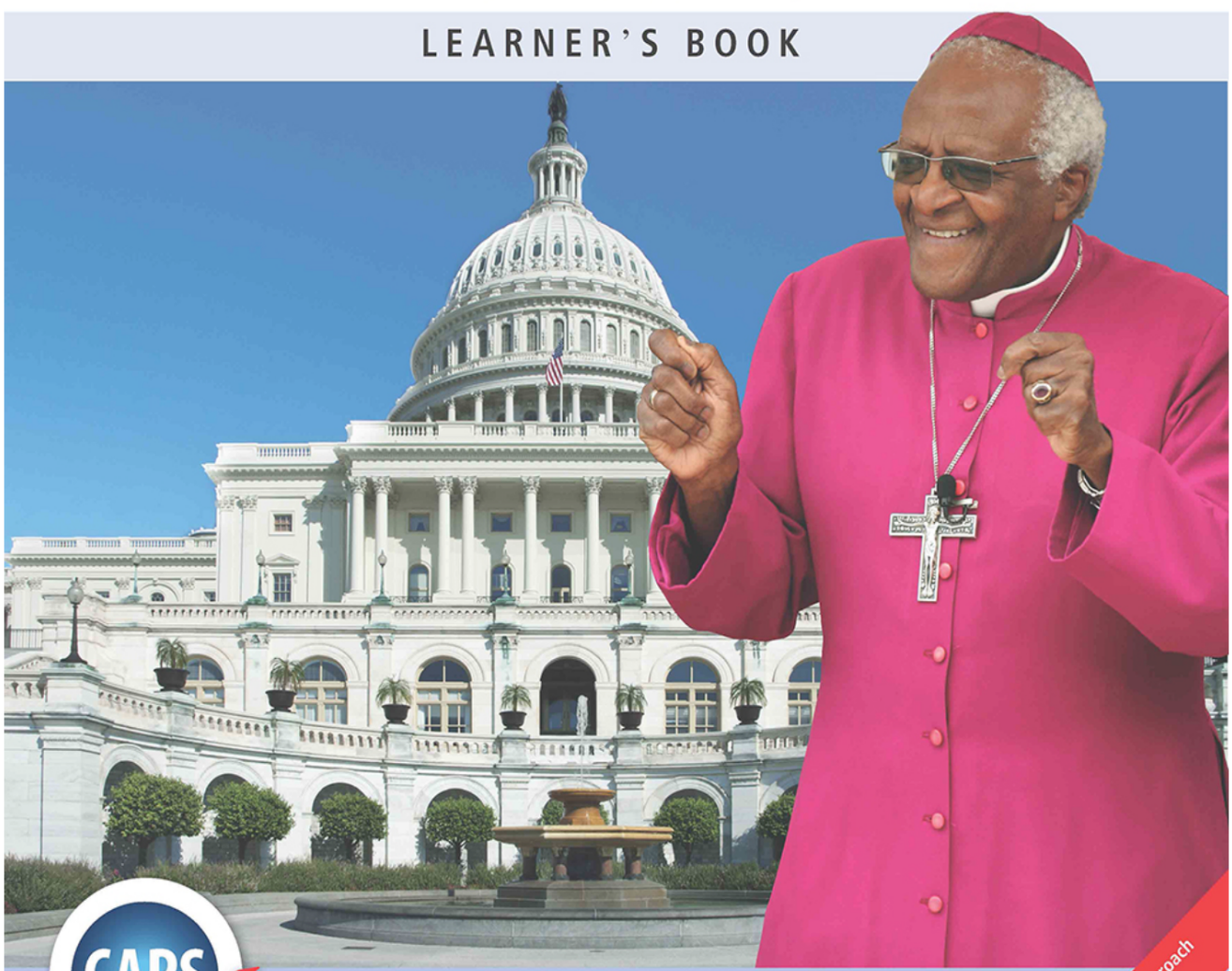
OXFORD

IN SEARCH OF HISTORY

GRADE 12

LEARNER'S BOOK



CAPS

J. Bottaro, P. Visser, N. Worden

The best source-based approach to studying History

OXFORD IN SEARCH OF HISTORY

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J. Bottaro P. Visser N. Worden

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Editor: Delene Slabbert
Map Illustrators: Viyassen Govender and Bjorn Buyst from Salience Creative Thinking

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How this book works

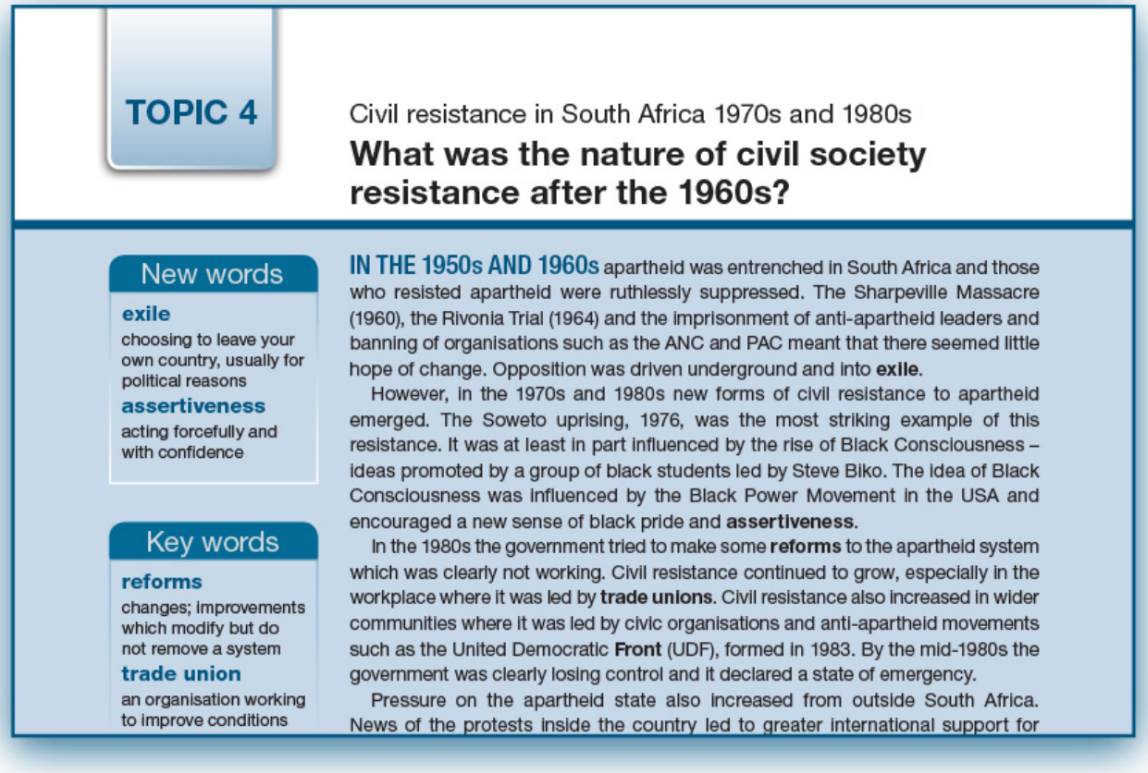
Welcome to *In Search of History* Grade 12. This introduction will help you to understand how the book works.

Chapters and Units

This book is divided into six Topics. Each Topic has different content, and includes Skills Support to help you build your skills in history, like analysing cartoons and essay writing.

Each Topic is divided into a number of Units. The Topics describe a particular time and place in history. The Units focus on the people and events in that time and place; for example, in Topic 1, which is about the Cold War and its effects on international relations, Unit 3 is about Vietnam and how the people of Vietnam were affected by the Cold War.

The Units explore what happened and what the effects were of the main events in history at a particular time. Sometimes events in a particular place (like Eastern Europe) had an effect on countries far away (for example, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was one of the factors leading to change in South Africa in the early 1990s). Each Unit is also divided up by headings which focus on particular ideas.



TOPIC 4

Civil resistance in South Africa 1970s and 1980s

What was the nature of civil society resistance after the 1960s?

New words

exile
choosing to leave your own country, usually for political reasons

assertiveness
acting forcefully and with confidence

Key words

reforms
changes; improvements which modify but do not remove a system

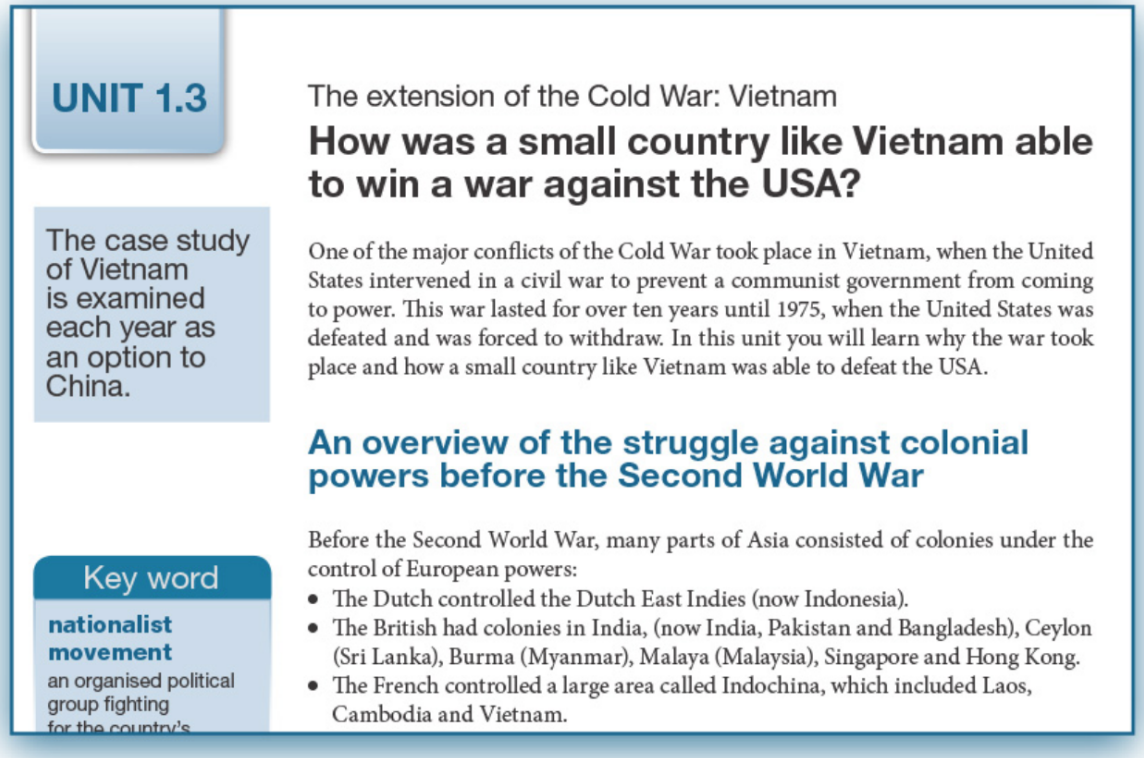
trade union
an organisation working to improve conditions

IN THE 1950s AND 1960s apartheid was entrenched in South Africa and those who resisted apartheid were ruthlessly suppressed. The Sharpeville Massacre (1960), the Rivonia Trial (1964) and the imprisonment of anti-apartheid leaders and banning of organisations such as the ANC and PAC meant that there seemed little hope of change. Opposition was driven underground and into **exile**.

However, in the 1970s and 1980s new forms of civil resistance to apartheid emerged. The Soweto uprising, 1976, was the most striking example of this resistance. It was at least in part influenced by the rise of Black Consciousness – ideas promoted by a group of black students led by Steve Biko. The idea of Black Consciousness was influenced by the Black Power Movement in the USA and encouraged a new sense of black pride and **assertiveness**.

In the 1980s the government tried to make some **reforms** to the apartheid system which was clearly not working. Civil resistance continued to grow, especially in the workplace where it was led by **trade unions**. Civil resistance also increased in wider communities where it was led by civic organisations and anti-apartheid movements such as the United Democratic **Front** (UDF), formed in 1983. By the mid-1980s the government was clearly losing control and it declared a state of emergency.

Pressure on the apartheid state also increased from outside South Africa. News of the protests inside the country led to greater international support for



UNIT 1.3

The extension of the Cold War: Vietnam

How was a small country like Vietnam able to win a war against the USA?

The case study of Vietnam is examined each year as an option to China.

One of the major conflicts of the Cold War took place in Vietnam, when the United States intervened in a civil war to prevent a communist government from coming to power. This war lasted for over ten years until 1975, when the United States was defeated and was forced to withdraw. In this unit you will learn why the war took place and how a small country like Vietnam was able to defeat the USA.

An overview of the struggle against colonial powers before the Second World War

Key word

nationalist movement
an organised political group fighting for the country's

Before the Second World War, many parts of Asia consisted of colonies under the control of European powers:

- The Dutch controlled the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia).
- The British had colonies in India, (now India, Pakistan and Bangladesh), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Burma (Myanmar), Malaya (Malaysia), Singapore and Hong Kong.
- The French controlled a large area called Indochina, which included Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

Support features

The Learner's Book has support features to make learning easier and to enrich your understanding.

Activity 1: (pairs) (groups) (individual)

Activities help you to develop and check your History Skills. Symbols below each Activity heading indicate whether you will work individually (on your own), in pairs or in groups.

THINK AND DISCUSS: This feature gives you time to discuss and form an opinion.

Key words

These words are part of History and important to know.

New words

These words build your vocabulary.

SKILLS SUPPORT

This feature guides you so that you can develop the special skills of a historian, for example identifying and analysing primary sources, writing essays, and doing research. These skills are essential to developing your knowledge of history and meeting the curriculum requirements.

Assessment

This section at the end of every Topic provides suggested Formal Assessment Tasks.

Special features:

- **Mark allocations** for all activities and assessment tasks to help you understand how marks will be allocated in tests and examinations. See page 67 for more information on mark allocations.
- **Timelines** summarise the main events in the order of their occurrence.
- **Maps** provide a focus on the exact places you are studying.
- **Assessment Tasks** (for example a Research assignment) are provided.
- **Exemplar Exams** offer you practice for your examinations.
- The **Index** gives you quick access to words and concepts covered throughout the book.

Formal Programme of Assessment in Grade 12

Starting with informal assessment, your teacher will use different assessment methods to make sure that you are developing the skills and knowledge you need to be successful in History. For example, your teacher will use daily assessment to check that you are keeping up with the work covered in each History lesson. Your work on the activities in the Learner's Book will also show your teacher how well you are developing the necessary knowledge and skills. You will also be required to complete certain tasks for the Programme of Assessment as indicated below.

Programme of Assessment for Grade 12

Term	Curriculum	Formal Assessment	Marks
1	Topic 1 assessment Topic 2 assessment Topic 3 Schools based assessment [May be done in Term 1 or 2]	• Standardised test: Source based and essay on the Cold War • Essay test on the Congo and Tanzania • Research task on Popular Protest movements	100 50 50
2	Topic 3 assessment Topic 4 assessment * Mid-year examination	• Source-based test on Civil Society protests OR • Essay task on crisis of apartheid in the 1980s • Mid-year examinations (Papers 1 and 2)	50 50 100 + 100
3	Topic 5 and 6 assessments * September examination	• Standardised test: Essay on SA 1990-94 and Source-based section on the 'new world order' • September examinations (Papers 1 and 2)	100 150 + 150
4	Final external examination		150 + 150

Weighting of the assessment tasks for Grade 12

Assessment activity	Weighting	Raw marks	Converted marks
Mid-year examination	20%	2 papers: 100 marks = 200 marks	20
September examinations	30%	2 papers: 150 marks = 300 marks	30
Two standardised tests	2 x 10 %	50 marks each = 100 marks	20
Research assignment	20%	100 marks	20
Source-based and essay writing tasks	(2 x 5%) 10%	50 marks each = 100 marks	10
		Total CASS mark	100
		Final exam mark	300
		Total marks	**400**

TOPIC 1

The Cold War

How did the Cold War shape international relations after the Second World War?

AFTER THE SECOND World War, the two countries which emerged as the dominant world powers were the USSR and the USA. Between 1945 and 1991, they competed with each other for world domination. This period became known as the Cold War.

Both countries wanted their political and economic systems (communism in the USSR and capitalist democracy in the USA) to become dominant. Both of these superpowers owned nuclear weapons. Direct nuclear warfare between the two countries would have resulted in the destruction of the world, so this fear stopped their rivalry from breaking out into open warfare. The 'Cold' War between them never became 'hot'. The rivalry between the USA and the USSR took many other forms as well, such as competing to achieve dominance in scientific and technological developments, sport and the exploration of space.

Although the USA and the USSR never went to war against each other, they supported opposing sides in wars in other parts of the world. In some cases they got involved in this fighting (such as the USA in Vietnam, which you will learn about in Unit 1.3). But more often they intervened by supplying military and other forms of aid to their allies and in this way used their power to influence more vulnerable states. The Cold War deeply affected newly independent countries in Africa (as you will see in the case studies on the Congo and Angola in Topic 2). The Cold War also affected South Africa: the USA and its allies gave some support to the apartheid government because it was anti-communist, while the liberation movements obtained some backing from the USSR and its allies.

A further complication in the Cold War struggle was the rise to power of China under communist rule after 1949. At first China formed an alliance with the USSR in the Cold War, but in the 1960s this came to an end and China became a major power in its own right.

The Cold War finally came to an end with the collapse of the USSR in 1991, which you will study in Topic 6.

The Berlin Wall symbolised the division between the West and the Soviet bloc during the Cold War. It was built in 1961 and it divided the city of Berlin in half. The western side followed a democratic capitalist system and the eastern side followed a communist system. This photograph shows visitors looking at graffiti painted onto the Wall on the western side.

Timeline for Topic 1

1945	End of Second World War
1947	Truman Doctrine
1948	Marshall Plan
1948–49	Berlin Blockade and Airlift
1949	NATO formed; two separate German states formed;
	China becomes a communist state under Mao Zedong
1950–53	Korean War
1953	Death of Stalin
1954	Division of Vietnam into North and South
1955	Warsaw Pact formed
1959	Castro becomes the leader of Cuba; Cuban Revolution
1960	Sino-Soviet split; start of Vietnam War
1961	Building of Berlin Wall
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis
1966	Start of the Cultural Revolution in China
1968	Tet Offensive in South Vietnam
1975	End of Vietnam War
1976	Death of Mao Zedong

Timeline tasks

1 How long after the end of the Second World War was Germany formally divided into two separate states?
2 How do you know from this timeline that the Cold War was not confined to Europe?
3 For how long did Mao Zedong lead China?
4 How do you know from this timeline that Berlin was a key place during the Cold War?

UNIT 1.1 The origins of the Cold War

The Cold War was the struggle that developed between the USA and the USSR, which had emerged as the two strongest countries after the Second World War. They were referred to as the **superpowers**. In this struggle the USA was supported by other Western countries (the West) and the USSR was supported by other communist governments (the Soviet **bloc**). This created a world that was divided into two – one half supporting one superpower and the other half supporting the other.

The Cold War was not simply a conflict between two powerful countries and their allies. It was also a clash between competing social and economic systems and rival **political ideologies** – a clash between capitalism and communism. It was called a Cold War because it never developed into an actual war between the USSR and the USA, in spite of some very tense occasions. But it lasted for over 40 years and caused political crises and military conflicts in many parts of the world.

Key words

superpower
a country such as the USA that dominates world affairs

bloc
group of countries

political ideology
set of political beliefs and aims

Source A *A Soviet cartoon from 1948 about Western domination. The United States is represented by Uncle Sam, a tall man in striped pants and a top hat. Britain is represented by a short, overweight figure, wearing a bowler hat, known as John Bull. This is a negative portrayal of both figures. The small figure at the bottom has 'worker' written on his chest.*

Source B *Many political cartoons were created during the Cold War and certain symbols were used to represent different countries. In this cartoon the Soviet Union is represented by a Russian brown bear. The other symbols used to represent Soviet communism are the hammer and sickle representing workers and peasants, and the red star. Red is the colour associated with communism.*

Activity 1: (groups) Test your understanding of the competing political ideologies and analyse cartoons

Use the text to answer these questions:

1 a) When did the Cold War start and end? (2×1) (2)
b) Explain why it is called the Cold War. (1×2) (2)

2 In Grade 11 you studied the concepts of capitalism and communism. Describe:
a) how each system works. (2×3) (6)
b) the strengths and weaknesses of each system. (4×5) (20)

3 Before you study Sources A and B and their captions, remind yourself how to understand political cartoons by reading the Skills Support information on the next page. Then answer these questions:
a) What symbols are included? (2×2) (4)
b) How effectively is caricature used in Source A? (6×1) (6)
c) Which cartoon is more effective? Explain your view. (4×1) (4)

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to understand political cartoons

Cartoons use certain techniques to put across their message.

- They are usually not realistic portrayals but rather exaggerate certain features of the people drawn – this is known as a caricature.
- They include certain symbols to represent or highlight the issues under consideration.
- Sometimes they include words or a caption that draw the viewer's attention to certain issues.
- They are not usually neutral and do not show all the points of view on the topic but intentionally put across a particular interpretation or attitude.
- They assume you have some knowledge of the event being drawn; from your knowledge you should be able to work out what the cartoonist's attitude to the topic is.

Always check who made the cartoon and when, as this will help you to work out the artist's point of view.

The end of the Second World War: Why did a Cold War develop?

The Cold War started because of the mistrust which had developed between the West and the USSR after a communist government came to power in Russia in 1917. Over the years, the suspicions and tensions between them increased. However, during the Second World War (1939–45), they temporarily set aside their differences because of the threat posed by Hitler and Nazi Germany. In 1941, the USA, the USSR and Britain formed a **Grand Alliance** to defeat Germany. However, it was an uneasy alliance and beneath the surface the suspicions between them remained.

The Yalta Conference (February 1945)

Towards the end of the war, in February 1945, the leaders of the Grand Alliance – Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill – met at Yalta in the USSR. The main purpose of the meeting was to decide what to do about Germany, and the countries controlled by the Germans in eastern Europe, once the Nazis had been defeated in the war. They agreed that Germany would be divided into **zones of occupation**, each to be administered by one of the Big Three Allied powers until they were ready for independent government. They also agreed that the countries in eastern Europe should be allowed to hold free elections to determine the type of government they wanted.

Key words

Grand Alliance
main allied countries that joined together to defeat Germany

zones of occupation
areas under the military control of the main countries that conquered Germany

This photograph shows the three wartime Allied leaders (from left to right: Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin) at Yalta for the meeting to discuss the future of Germany after the war. They were nicknamed the Big Three. Notice how ill Roosevelt looks. He died shortly after this meeting.

The Potsdam Conference (July-August 1945)

After Germany was defeated in May 1945, there was no more need for the Grand Alliance. The distrust and suspicions which had been building up between the USSR and the West became more evident at a second conference of Allied leaders held at Potsdam, in Germany, in July 1945.

By this stage a number of changes had taken place which affected relationships between the three leaders:

- The Soviet Army was in control of much of eastern Europe.
- Stalin had set up a communist government in Poland, ignoring the wishes of the majority of the Polish people.

- Roosevelt had died and been replaced by Truman, who was much more anti-communist and suspicious of Stalin than Roosevelt had been.
- The Americans had successfully developed and tested the first **atomic bomb** and planned to use it to end the war against Japan. Although the USA and the USSR had been wartime allies, the Americans did not inform Stalin about the development of this new weapon until the Potsdam Conference.
- Shortly after the conference started, Churchill was defeated in a general election in Britain, and was replaced by the new Labour prime minister, Attlee. In the absence of Churchill, suspicion between Stalin and Truman dominated the conference.

Key word
atomic bomb nuclear weapon

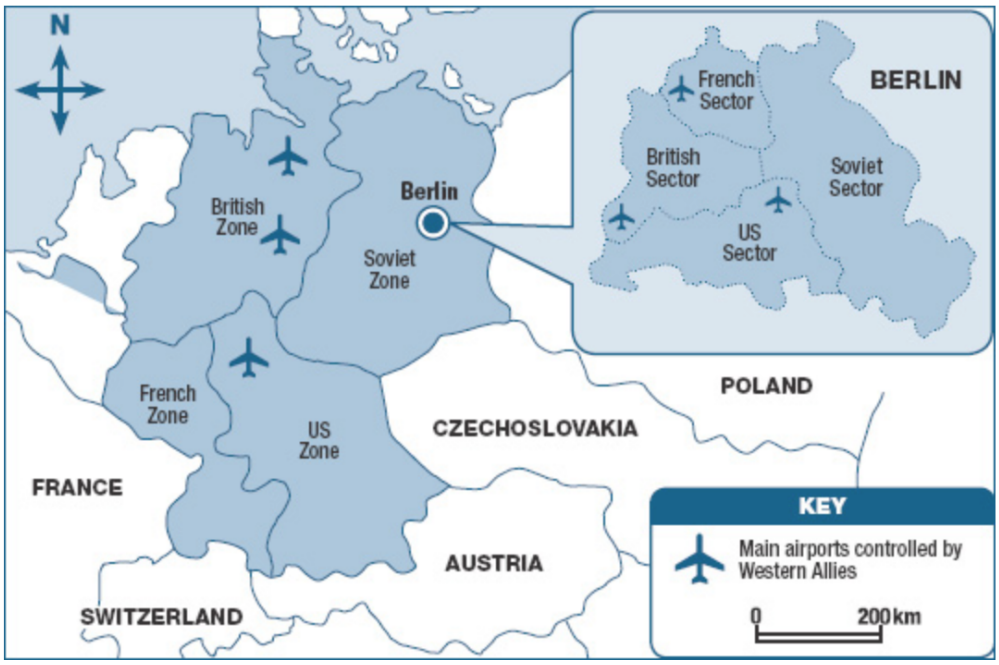
A key area of disagreement between the leaders was what to do about Germany. Stalin wanted Germany to pay **reparations** for the extensive damage that the German army had caused in the USSR during the war. He wanted to cripple Germany completely so that it would not be strong enough in the future to invade the USSR again. Truman, on the other hand, did not want to create a bitter and hostile Germany, which is what had happened after the First World War. This had helped Hitler and the Nazi Party to come to power in Germany.

Key word
reparations payment for damages caused during a war

This photograph shows the destruction in the German city of Dresden after the deadly allied forces' air raids on 13 and 14 February 1945. Many cities in Europe had been destroyed by bombing during the war. The Second World War was the first war in which civilians were the target of military attacks. A lot of effort and money was required to rebuild the economies and infrastructure of Europe.

In the end the Allied leaders decided that there would be four zones of occupation in Germany. The Soviet Union would administer the eastern zone, while the USA, Britain and France would administer

the three western zones. The city of Berlin, which was situated in the Soviet zone, would also be divided into four sectors. They also agreed that, although Germany was to be administered in four zones, it was to remain united and that economically they should work in co-operation with the long-term goal of keeping Germany one country.



This map shows how Germany was divided into zones of occupation. Each zone would be administered by an Allied military commander who would sit on the Allied Control Council (ACC). The ACC would work together to make decisions.

Activity 2: (individual) Investigate the Allied decisions about post-war Germany

Use the information in the text to answer these questions:

1 a) Why was there a meeting in Yalta in 1945? (2×1) (2)
b) What was decided at that meeting? (2×2) (4)
2 By the time the leaders met again at Potsdam, many changes had happened which affected the dynamics of the meeting. Explain the changes and how they affected the meeting. (6×1) (6)
3 Identify any potential future problems that could have arisen as a result of the decisions made at Potsdam. (6×1) (6)
4 Compare the Soviet and American concerns about the future of Germany. (2×3) (6)

The USSR and the USA: the creation of spheres of influence

In the atmosphere of tension and suspicion after the war, both superpowers tried to strengthen their control over parts of Europe: the USSR in eastern Europe and the USA in western Europe. In this way they created **spheres of influence**.

Key word

sphere of influence
area under the influence or control of a dominant country

The installation of Soviet-friendly governments in the satellite states

An issue which caused tensions between the former Allies was Western concern about the extension of Soviet control over much of eastern Europe. During the war, the USSR had **annexed** the independent Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and at the end of the war it annexed the eastern part of Poland. In addition, the presence of the Soviet Army, which had liberated eastern Europe from the Nazis, ensured that Soviet-friendly governments came to power in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and East Germany after the war. These countries became known as Soviet **satellites**. The free elections, which the USSR had agreed at Yalta to hold in these countries, did not take place. A communist **coup** in Czechoslovakia in 1948 seemed to confirm Western suspicions that the USSR was trying to extend its control and influence.

Key words

annex
to take over another area and include it as part of your country

satellite
a state under the strong influence of another country

coup
a violent change of government

To the USA and Britain, it seemed that the USSR's main aim in joining the Grand Alliance during the war had been to increase Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe. They were also worried that communist governments would take control in the rest of Europe, especially Greece, Italy and France (where there were strong Communist parties). The former British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, expressed Western disapproval of the USSR's expansion in a speech at Fulton, Missouri, in the USA in 1946. In this speech he warned that an ' **iron curtain'** was dividing Europe into East and West.

Key word

Iron Curtain
an imaginary dividing line between communist eastern and non-communist western Europe

Source C *This is an extract from Churchill's speech in Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946. He uses the term 'iron curtain'. This was not a real curtain, but a symbolic line which divided communist eastern Europe and democratic capitalist western Europe. It was an 'iron' curtain because it could not be penetrated. The communists monitored and stopped any movement from the east to the west.*

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended. Behind that line lie all the capitals of Central and Eastern Europe. The communist parties have been raised to power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. This is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build. Nor is it one which allows permanent peace.

Source D *Europe by 1949 was divided by two different ideological systems. The dividing line between communist Eastern Europe and the countries of western Europe, which were parliamentary democracies with capitalist economic systems, became known as the Iron Curtain. The communist states of Eastern Europe were referred to as Soviet satellites. Although Yugoslavia and Albania were communist states, they were independent of Soviet control and were therefore not behind the Iron Curtain.*

Activity 3: (pairs) Increase your understanding of the Soviet influence in Eastern Europe

Use the text and Sources C and D to answer these questions:

1 Name the countries which were called Soviet satellite states. (7×1) (7)
2 According to Source D, which areas were annexed by the Soviet Union? (6×1) (6)
3 How have the boundaries of Poland changed since 1939, as on the map? (3×1) (3)
4 In Source D, identify the line showing the 'iron curtain'. Explain whether you think this was a suitable name. (3×1) (3)
5 Describe the techniques Churchill used in his speech to make it sound convincing. (3×1) (3)
6 Use the text to explain what Churchill means in Source C when he says, 'communist parties have been raised to power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control'. (3×2) (6)
7 a) Use the map to explain why the West feared that communism would spread to Greece. (1×1) (1)
   b) Now, use the text to explain communism's potential spread to Italy and France. (1×1) (1)

The USA's policy of containment: the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan

Concerns about the extension of Soviet control led to a radical change in American foreign policy. The USA believed that the USSR wanted to establish communist governments throughout Europe and in other parts of the world. So, instead of returning to its traditional policy of **isolation**, the USA became actively involved in world affairs. It adopted a policy of **containment**, to contain or check the spread of communism.

Key words

isolation
US foreign policy between the two world wars of not getting involved in world affairs

containment
foreign policy of the USA after the Second World War to contain the spread of communism

The Truman Doctrine

It was events in Greece and Turkey which made the USA decide to take action in this way. In Greece a civil war had broken out between communist-led **guerrillas** and the Greek government. A similar situation had developed in Turkey. The USA believed that in both cases the USSR was supporting the communists.

President Truman announced the change in policy in March 1947. In a speech to the US Congress he said that the USA was prepared to send money, military equipment and advice to any country that was threatened by a communist takeover. The **Truman Doctrine** became the basis of American policy during the Cold War. Almost immediately, the USA sent aid to the Greek and Turkish governments. This helped

them to defeat the communist guerrillas.

Key words
guerrillas irregular, informal army; soldiers that use informal hit-and-run tactics
Truman Doctrine the basis of American foreign policy aimed at stopping the spread of communism

Source E *From President Truman's speech to the US Congress, 12 March 1947, in which he persuaded Congress to support the Truman Doctrine. (Quoted in Mantin*, Questions of Evidence: The Twentieth Century World, *Hutchison Educational, London, 1988, page 30.)*

At the present moment nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. One way of life is based on the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and election and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed on the majority. It relies upon the use of terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted **subjugation** by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that our help should be through economic and financial aid. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

… If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority the effect on its neighbour Turkey would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the Middle East.

New word
subjugation one country bringing another under its control

Source F *From a speech by Andrei Vyshinsky, the Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the United Nations, 18 September 1947. He is highly critical of the Truman Doctrine. (Quoted in Mantin*, Questions of Evidence: The Twentieth Century World, *Hutchison Educational, London, 1988, page 31.)*

The so-called Truman Doctrine is a particularly glaring example of the way in which the United States has moved towards giving up the idea of international co-operation and joint action by the great powers. It has tried to force its will on other independent countries, whilst at the same time obviously using the money distributed as relief to needy countries as an instrument of political pressure … This policy conflicts sharply with the principle expressed by the General Assembly (of the United Nations) in its resolution of 11 December 1946 which declares that relief supplies to other countries should, at no time, be used as a political weapon.

The Marshall Plan

Another part of the policy of containment was the **Marshall Plan**. Truman believed that more than just military aid was necessary to prevent the spread of communism. He sent the US **Secretary of State**, George Marshall, to Europe to investigate the post-war economic situation there. Marshall reported that much of Europe had been destroyed by the war and that people were suffering. The result of this visit was a plan for economic aid, called the Marshall Plan. The aim was to rebuild the post-war European economies and, in this way, destroy the conditions under which, Truman believed, the appeal of communism would spread. Between 1948 and 1952, the USA gave $17 billion of Marshall Aid to the countries of western Europe to help them to rebuild their economies. This included former allies, such as France and Britain, as well as former enemies, such as Germany. Marshall Aid helped to bring about a remarkable economic recovery in western Europe.

The Soviet response to the Marshall Plan

The Soviet leader, Stalin, was suspicious of the aims behind the Marshall Plan. He saw it as a form of '**dollar diplomacy**'. He would not allow any of the Soviet satellites to accept it. The Marshall Plan increased the divisions between eastern and western Europe, as reflected in the different views expressed in the sources that follow.

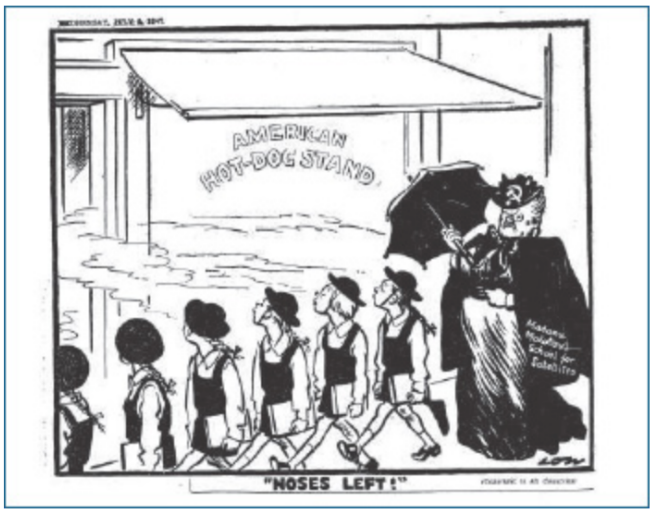
Key words

Marshall Plan
American economic aid to Europe to rebuild war-damaged economies

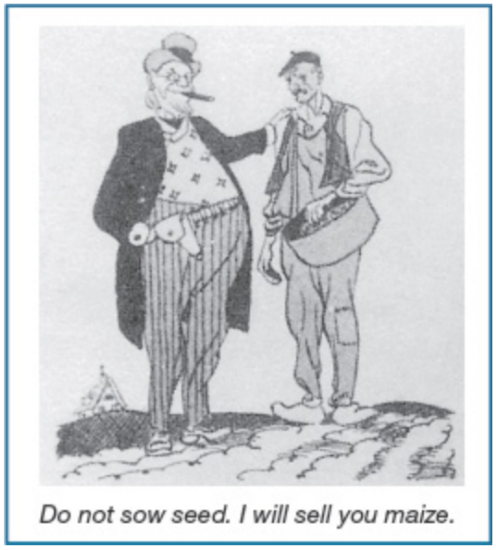
Secretary of State
the US minister of foreign affairs

dollar diplomacy
using economic and financial pressure to suit American interests

Source G *This cartoon was made by David Low, a British cartoonist, in May 1948. In it the Soviet Union (represented by the Foreign Minister, Molotov, drawn as a female chaperone), forbids the Eastern European satellite states (drawn as schoolgirls) from getting Marshall Aid (hot dogs).*



Source H *This is part of a Soviet cartoon from 1948 which criticises the Marshall Plan by showing its effects on other countries. America is represented by an overweight Uncle Sam figure while Europe is shown as a poor farmer.*



Source I *From a speech by George Marshall in 1947 in which he explained his plan for the recovery of post-war Europe.*

> It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist the return of normal economic health of the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos … governments, political parties or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit there from, politically or otherwise, will encounter the opposition of the United States.

On the Soviet side, Stalin set up the Communist Information Bureau, or Cominform, in 1947, to co-ordinate the communist parties of Eastern Europe in the post-war years. He used it to keep a firm control

over the Soviet satellite countries. Independent-minded leaders were replaced by those who were loyal to Stalin. Communist parties from France and Italy were also members of Cominform. In 1949, the communist bloc formed another organisation, Comecon (the Council for Mutual Economic Aid), also dominated by the USSR. Communist countries from outside Europe, such as Cuba and Vietnam, were later drawn into Comecon.

Activity 4: (individual) Interpret primary sources on the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan

1 Why would and how does Source H reinforce what is said in Source F?
2 Study Source E. What arguments does Truman give to justify US involvement in Europe? (4×1) (4) (6×1) (6)
3 a) What events had happened that would make Truman believe that the threat to people's freedoms was real? (2×1) (2)
   b) How does his speech illustrate the need for 'containment'? (2×1) (2)
4 Use the text to explain the following terms:
   a) satellite states (2×1) (2)
   b) Truman Doctrine (2×1) (2)
   c) Marshall Plan (2×1) (2)
   d) Cominform (3×1) (3)
   e) Comecon. (3×1) (3)
5 Study Source I. How is it typical of political speeches made during the Cold War? (6×1) (6)
6 Both Sources E and F state that the US used economic aid to help people, but their explanations for the reasons behind this aid are very different. Explain what the two explanations are and extract information from each source to back this up. (2×3) (6)
7 Compare the cartoons (Sources G and H). Which is more effective in showing the Soviet view – that is, that the West was using 'dollar diplomacy'? (2×4) (8)
   (Hint: Analyse each source separately and then answer the question.)

The Berlin Crises (1948–1961)

Differences over Germany caused the first crisis of the Cold War. Nowhere were the underlying tensions of the Cold War so close to the surface as in Berlin, the former capital of Germany, which lay deep within the Soviet zone (see the map before Activity 2). Many in the West saw Berlin as a symbol of freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

Although the Allied leaders had agreed at Potsdam that Germany would remain united, they introduced different political and economic systems in their zones:

- In the Soviet zone, a communist dictatorship was established. It introduced a communist economic system by nationalising industry and setting up state collective farms. Economic recovery was slow, as the government rejected American aid, and the USSR forced the East Germans to pay reparations.
- In the Western zones, different political parties were formed and local democratic elections were held. **Free enterprise** economic practices were encouraged, and a rapid economic recovery began, helped by Marshall Aid. By 1948, the Western zones had united to form a single economic unit and they introduced a new currency.

Key word

free enterprise
unrestricted economic activity

1948–49: The Berlin Blockade and Airlift

The three Western sectors of Berlin were over 160 kilometres from the Western zones of Germany. The Western currency became the dominant currency in Berlin and the Soviet zone currency lost its value. Stalin believed that this was clear evidence that that the Western powers were waging economic warfare and that they had no intention of leaving Berlin.

In June 1948, the USSR closed all surface routes – road, rail and canal – linking Berlin to the West. This Berlin **Blockade** cut off the two and a half million citizens in West Berlin from supplies and contact with the Western zones. In its place the USSR sent generous rations into West Berlin in an effort to persuade its inhabitants to agree to Soviet control. The West did not want to risk war by forcing the USSR to lift the blockade. On the other hand, they believed that to do nothing would be seen by Stalin as a sign of weakness, and would probably result in a communist takeover of the whole of Berlin.

So they decided on a third alternative – the Berlin **Airlift**. Stalin had not closed the three air lanes through to Berlin, and so for nearly a year the West supplied the Western sectors of Berlin by air with all requirements, including food, fuel, building materials and medical supplies. In May 1949, when it was clear to Stalin that the West would not give up Berlin, he called off the blockade and the land routes were reopened. The crisis established a tense balance between the superpowers. Berlin itself became a powerful symbol of Cold War tensions, and also a potential **flashpoint** for future crises.

Key words

blockade
when a government or army stops people or goods from leaving or entering a place

airlift
large-scale transport of goods by plane in an emergency situation

flashpoint
a place where conflict or violence is likely to break out

Source J *Children in West Berlin watch a C-54 aeroplane about to land at the Tempelhof Airport in Berlin in 1948. It is bringing supplies as part of the Berlin Airlift.*

Source K *An anonymous German child's drawing from 1948 of the Berlin Airlift. The writing says, '130 days airlift' and 'We thank the pilots for their work and effort.'*

After this crisis, Germany was formally divided into two separate states:

- In May 1949 the three Western zones became the German Federal Republic (or West Germany), with Bonn as its capital. West Berlin was included as part of West Germany. Its first leader was Konrad Adenauer.
- In October 1949, the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic (or East Germany), with East Berlin as its capital. Its first leader was Walter Ulbricht.

The Allied aim of keeping Germany united had failed. Germany was to remain divided for the next 40 years.

Activity 5: (pairs) Analyse the division of Germany and Berlin

Use the text to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise:

1 a) Why was Berlin divided? (4×1) (4)
   b) Why did the Soviet Union impose the blockade? (4×1) (4)
2 Within three years the western zones and the eastern zones of Germany were running very differently from each other. Describe the differences. (2×4) (8)
3 Describe the results of the Berlin Blockade and Airlift. (3×2) (6)
4 All the sources in this unit so far have been primary. Read the Skills Support information below before you complete this activity.
   a) What types of primary sources are Sources A and F? (2×1) (2)
   b) Study Sources E and F. Why is it important to analyse each source, especially looking at who made each source and why they made it.
5 You are a member of the US government's media team covering the Berlin Airlift. You have been asked to write a propaganda pamphlet promoting the US government's action and policies in Berlin. You have been given the two visuals (Sources J and K). Write the information that will go with these visuals. The written part should be about 150 words. (2×2) (4) (5×2) (10)

SKILLS SUPPORT

What are the strengths and limitations of primary sources?

Why are primary sources useful?

- Primary sources come from the actual time that is being studied.
- They add a richness of understanding as we get information from objects, documents, official records, music, photographs, diaries, oral histories and so on.
- They give us access to information about ordinary people's lives or attitudes.
- They can give a more personal version of the past.
- They give us specific details about experiences and events of the time.
- Archaeological and oral evidence gives us the history of early societies that did not keep written records.

What are the limitations of primary sources?

- They can be changed deliberately, or can be broken or damaged.
- Most primary evidence does not exist anymore because it has been lost or destroyed. Therefore we get an inaccurate record of what life was like.
- Stories in oral history may be very one-sided, or large parts of them may be forgotten over time and therefore inaccurate.
- Primary evidence reflects only an immediate response from the time. They cannot give an overview or objective view.

1953: Uprising in East Berlin

In 1953 protests by workers in East Berlin spread throughout East Germany. The workers were demanding greater political and economic freedom, union with West Germany, the end of communism and the withdrawal of Soviet forces. The uprising was crushed by the Soviet army and over 600 East Germans were executed. A further 300 000 fled to the West. However, as a result of the uprising, the East German government introduced some reforms and the USSR allowed East Germany greater independence.

1958–60: Further tensions over Berlin – the U2 spy plane incident

In 1958 the new Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, demanded that the West hand over Berlin to East Germany. The West ignored these demands, and Khrushchev did nothing to enforce them. Khrushchev's response seemed to indicate that relations between the USA and the USSR were improving. In 1960 Khrushchev and US President Eisenhower planned to meet in Paris to discuss the future of Berlin.

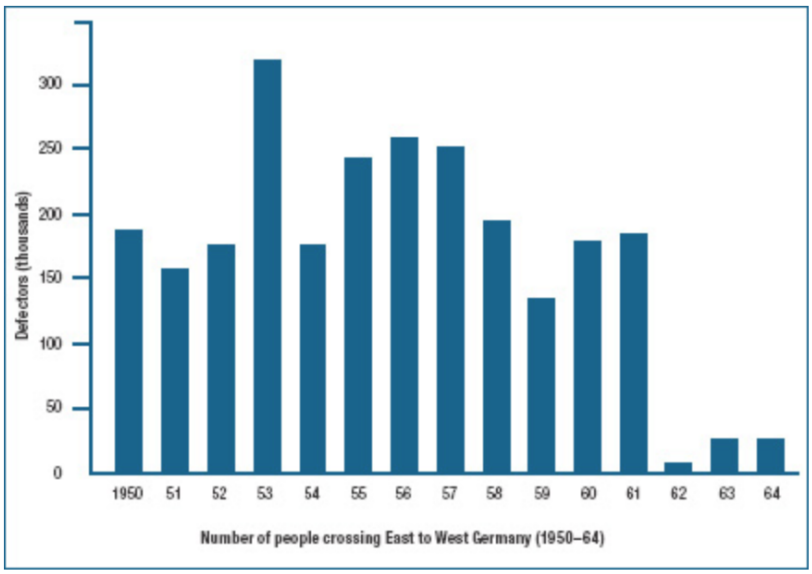
However, the USSR cancelled the meeting when an American spy plane was shot down while it was flying over the USSR. The plane had been photographing military installations there. At first the US government strongly denied any knowledge of such a plane, but when the Soviet authorities produced both the equipment and the pilot, the Americans were forced to admit their involvement. Eisenhower refused to apologise for the incident, so Khrushchev stormed out of the Paris meeting in protest. Many people criticised American actions as irresponsible at such a sensitive time. The incident increased the tensions between the superpowers once again and left the issue of Berlin unresolved.

1961: The building of the Berlin Wall

Berlin again became the focus of attention in 1961. Since the creation of East Germany in 1949, over three million East Germans had fled to the West, many of them young and highly skilled. By July 1961 about ten thousand people a week were leaving for the higher standard of living and greater freedom which the West offered. The USSR viewed this as a challenge to Soviet control in Eastern Europe. It wanted to stop the loss of people, and the skills they took with them to the West by leaving through Berlin.

In August 1961, the East German authorities, with Soviet backing, built a wall to divide East and West Berlin, cutting the city in half overnight. This high, fortified Berlin Wall, with its machine-gun posts and searchlights, stopped the flow of refugees. The West was powerless to prevent the building of the Wall, but the status of West Berlin remained unchanged, an island of capitalism and democracy surrounded by East Germany. Many East Germans died trying to escape across the Wall, which became a famous symbol of the Cold War period.

Source L *This graph shows the number of people who moved from East to West Germany between 1950 and 1964. (Based on a table in Ben Walsh*, GCSE Modern World History, *John Murray, 2003, page 408)*



Source M *This photograph shows the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Once completed it was about 4 metres high. Blocks of flats were used as part of the partition, and the windows on the Western side were bricked up. Many families were separated by the wall. People tried to climb over the wall but were shot. Some people built tunnels underground and a few managed to escape, but it was very dangerous. The Berlin Wall became a clear symbol of the Cold War as it divided the city into two ideological blocs.*

Activity 6: (individual) Examine the impact of the building of the Berlin Wall

1 Use the text and Sources L and M to answer these questions:
   a) What was the Berlin Wall? (3×1) (3)
   b) Explain why the German authorities built it. (3×1) (3)
   c) Why did it become a famous symbol of the Cold War? (3×2) (6)
2 a) Explain why there was an uprising in East Germany in 1953. (2×2) (4)
   b) How is this reflected in Source L? (2×2) (4)
3 Explain why US–Soviet relations deteriorated between 1958 and 1960. (3×1) (3)

Opposing military alliances: NATO and the Warsaw Pact

The tension between the superpowers led to the creation of two military alliances. As part of its policy of containment, the USA formed a military alliance with its western European allies, the North Atlantic **Treaty** Organisation (NATO) in 1949. In response, the USSR and its allies formed the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (Warsaw Pact).

Key word
treaty formal agreement between countries

1949: The formation of NATO

After the Berlin Blockade, the USA was even more concerned that the USSR wanted to extend communist control over western Europe. They were aware too that the military strength of the Soviet Union was much greater than the combined strength of the armed forces of western Europe, unless they had American support. So the US decided to form a military alliance with its western European allies, and commit to keeping US forces in readiness in these countries in case of a Soviet attack.

As a result, in 1949 a joint Western **defence alliance**, NATO, was formed. NATO had its headquarters in Paris. The USA provided most of the forces and weapons for it and set up military bases in Britain, Spain, Italy, Greece and Turkey. The West viewed NATO as a form of protection against Soviet expansion and the spread of communism. However, the USSR saw it as yet another attempt by the USA to increase its influence in Europe and, eventually perhaps, to attack the Soviet Union.

Key word
defence alliance a military pact between countries who agree to support each other in a war

Source N *This Soviet cartoon of 1952 shows an American general placing the US flag on an air base in Greece. Flags show that there were already air and missile bases in Britain, Spain, Italy and North Africa. As he does so, an American politician, who is in his back pocket, is making a speech about 'peace', 'defence' and 'disarmament'.*

Both superpowers were determined to maintain their spheres of influence in Europe, but France challenged the US domination of western Europe. In 1966 President de Gaulle withdrew French forces from NATO because he wanted France to have its own nuclear weapons programme and a more independent foreign policy. As a result, NATO headquarters moved from Paris to Brussels in Belgium.

The spheres of influence of the superpowers stretched beyond Europe. The West formed other anti-communist alliances, linked to NATO:

- SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organisation) was formed in 1954. It included three Asian nations (the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan) together with the USA, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand. Other newly independent Asian states refused to be drawn in.
- CENTO (Central Treaty Organisation) was formed in the Middle East in 1955. It included pro-Western states such as Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey, together with the USA and Britain.

1955: The formation of the Warsaw Pact

The USSR responded to the formation of NATO by forming the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, or Warsaw Pact, with its East European satellites. The immediate reason for this was the West's decision to allow West Germany to join NATO in 1955. The USSR feared that this could lead to the growth of militarism in Germany once again. As part of the Warsaw Pact agreement, Soviet troops remained in most Warsaw Pact countries. The West saw the Warsaw Pact as a means by which the Soviet Union could maintain its control over Eastern Europe.

The USSR experienced problems when some Warsaw Pact members later threatened to withdraw, as Hungary did in 1956. The USSR used its own army to crush the uprising there and it also used soldiers from other Warsaw Pact countries to regain control of Czechoslovakia in 1968, when the Czech people rose up in revolt against Soviet domination. After suppressing the revolt in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet government announced the **Brezhnev Doctrine**, named after the Soviet leader at the time. This defined a Soviet bloc country as a socialist **one-party state** belonging to the Warsaw Pact. It stated that the Warsaw

Pact had the right to intervene in any member state which threatened to break away from the bloc.

Key words

Brezhnev Doctrine
the basis of Soviet foreign policy, giving the USSR the right to intervene in the satellite states

one-party state
a state where all political parties except the one in power are banned

Competition between the opposing military alliances

The competition between the superpowers was not confined to political control and military alliances. Technology and science also played an important role, especially in the production of weapons. At the beginning of the Cold War, only the USA had developed the technology to produce nuclear weapons, which gave it a clear advantage. But within four years the USSR had caught up. A deadly **arms race** developed and by the 1960s, both sides had enough weapons to destroy each other many times over. Each hoped that knowing this would be enough to stop the other side from attacking first. This concept was known as MAD – or Mutually Assured Destruction. People around the world lived in fear that one wrong decision, or mistake, could result in the destruction of the whole world. The cost of this arms race was enormous, and it was a drain on the economies of both superpowers. By the late 1960s the two sides had started talks about reducing the arms race. These talks were known as SALT – or Strategic Arms Limitations Talks. The SALT 1 agreement, signed in 1972, was an important first step in slowing down the arms race.

Another area of competition between the superpowers was the **space race**. The USSR took the lead when, in 1957, it launched the first satellite into space. It was called *sputnik* (which means 'fellow traveller'). The USSR scored another triumph in 1961 when Yuri Gagarin became the first person to orbit the earth and return safely. The USSR was also the first country to send a woman into space, namely Valentina Tereshkova. The news of these achievements shocked the USA. It seemed that the USSR was way ahead in science and technology. The US president John Kennedy ordered scientists to speed up work on America's own space programme and to focus on being the first to land a human on the moon. This was achieved in 1969.

Key words

arms race
competition to build up armed forces

space race
competition over space technology

Source O *The Soviet state-controlled newspapers made a big issue of Gagarin's success. In this photograph, a Russian boy reads about the Soviet success to an illiterate farmer.*

Source P *This source gives an analysis on how success or failure in the space race reflected on the country's education system. (From J. Isaacs and T. Downing*, The Cold War, *Bantam Press, London, 1998, page 155)*

> The sputniks brought forth a deep sense of national humiliation within the United States. It was felt that America had gone 'soft', that an obsession with material things had undermined the quality of its science, and that behind this there were flaws in the education system.

Source Q *This source shows how important the moon landing was to the USA. (From J. Bentley and H. Ziegler*, Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past, *McGraw Hill, Boston, 2005, page 1075)*

> The moon landing reassured US citizens of their world status, but the earlier years of the Cold War had left them insecure about missile gaps and diminished scientific ingenuity in a society relentlessly devoted to consumerism.

The superpowers tried to protect their spheres of interest through espionage (or spying). Both the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB) built up huge networks of spies to learn secret information about the other side. The superpowers also used propaganda to convince their own citizens and people in other parts of the world that their side was right. The

competition between the two sides also extended to **popular culture**, sport and many other fields. It is at this time that the spy thriller became a popular form of fiction, for example the James Bond novels and films.

Key word
popular culture forms of popular entertainment, such as music, radio, and films

Activity 7: (individual) Analyse issues on the arms and space races

Use the text to answer these questions unless indicated otherwise:

1 a) What was NATO? (2×1) (2)
b) Explain why the USA thought NATO was necessary. (3×1) (3)
2 Identify what other military alliances were linked to NATO and which countries belonged to them. (2×3) (6)
3 Explain why the NATO headquarters moved to Brussels in 1966. (3×1) (3)
4 Explain why the Warsaw Pact was formed in 1955 and why the Brezhnev Doctrine was introduced. (2×2) (4)
5 Explain the concept of Mutually Assured Destruction and its impact on the arms race. (2×2) (4)
6 Analyse the Soviet cartoon, Source N (use the skills that you learnt earlier in the unit), and explain the comment it is making about the gap between American political statements and its military actions. (2×4) (8)
7 Use sources O to Q to explain the role of the space race in the Cold War. Your answer should be about 100–130 words. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 7.

Containment and brinkmanship: The Cuban Missile Crisis

Tension between the superpowers stretched beyond Europe to Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. The crisis which came closer than any other to a war between the superpowers happened in Latin America: the Cuban Missile Crisis. It developed after a communist revolution in Cuba gave the USSR an ally uncomfortably close to the USA. This was a direct challenge to the determination of the USA to contain the spread of communism.

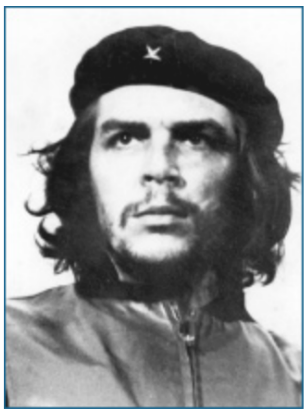
A feature of the Cold War was the tactic of '**brinkmanship**'. Each side tried to see just how much it could get away with before the opposing side would react, pushing the opponent to the edge (the brink); that is, to the point of declaring open warfare. The dangers of brinkmanship became apparent during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

Key word
brinkmanship trying to gain an advantage by seeing how far you could push your opponent

The Cuban Revolution

Cuba is an island which lies about 160 kilometres off the coast of the United States. The country had traditionally been dominated by its more powerful neighbour. The USA maintained a large naval base on the island, at Guantanamo Bay. American companies controlled much of the economic wealth of the country, which included oil refineries, mines, cattle ranches, hotels and railways. In addition, the USA bought the bulk of Cuba's main export crop, sugar.

At the same time most Cubans lived in extreme poverty. By the 1950s about 40% of Cuba's six million people were illiterate, and there was an acute shortage of teachers, schools, doctors and hospitals. In contrast, about 2% of the population was wealthy and powerful and they owned over 50% of the land.



This is the iconic 1959 image of Che Guevara who believed in communist ideals and fought in the Cuban Revolution with Castro. This image later became very popular as a symbol of youth rebellion. It was put on merchandise to sell in the capitalist system. Making profits from his image is something Guevara himself would have deeply disliked. The photograph was taken by Alberto Korda on 5 March 1960 in Havana, Cuba.

In 1952 a dictator called Batista seized power. He abolished the constitution, closed parliament and brutally suppressed all opposition. But his government had support from the army, large landowners and wealthy industrialists and bankers. It also had the support of the USA because Batista was anti-communist.

But a group of revolutionaries, led by Fidel Castro, built up enough support to overthrow the government of Batista, who fled into exile. When Castro and his forces marched in triumph into the capital, Havana, in January 1959, they were welcomed by huge demonstrations.

The American response to the Cuban Revolution

From the start, the US government was suspicious of the new Cuban government under Castro, especially after Castro started introducing **socialist reforms**, such as the redistribution of land, the **collectivisation** of agriculture, and the **nationalisation** of transport and some industries. Many of these measures affected foreign (mainly American) investors. The USA responded by banning Cuban sugar imports to America, and breaking off **diplomatic relations** with Cuba. It hoped in this way to force the Cuban government to change its policies.

Key words

socialist reforms
changes which were based on socialist economic theories

collectivisation
putting together small individually owned farms into large state-controlled farms

nationalisation
putting large industries under state ownership and control

diplomatic relations
peaceful dealings between governments through consultations between politicians and diplomats (ambassadors)

The USA became even more hostile when Castro started trade negotiations with the USSR. In addition, thousands of Soviet technicians and advisors started arriving in Cuba. The US became convinced that the Castro regime was communist, which at that stage was not yet the case. At the height of the Cold War, the Americans certainly did not want a communist country so close to the United States. They also feared that the Soviet Union would use Cuba to spread its ideology through Central and South America. The Americans therefore secretly started planning to invade Cuba and to overthrow Castro.

Many middle-class Cubans, who were also opposed to the socialist reforms, had fled from the island and gone to live in the USA. With backing from the CIA, an armed force of these exiles invaded Cuba. They landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba in April 1961. But their attempt to overthrow Castro's government was a total failure. Castro's forces easily defeated them and all of them were either killed or taken prisoner. The Bay of Pigs affair was deeply embarrassing to the USA, both because their involvement had been publicly exposed, and also because the whole affair was poorly planned and carried out. After this, Castro announced that he was a communist and turned increasingly to the USSR for economic and diplomatic support. Many historians argue that it was the US support for the Bay of Pigs invasion which pushed Castro into a firm alliance with the Soviet Union.

A Soviet cartoon of 1960. The notice held by the American Secretary of State (Foreign Minister) says to the Cuban leader Castro: 'I forbid you to make friends with the Soviet Union.'

Activity 8: (pairs) Examine the Cuban Revolution

Use the information in the text to answer these questions:

1 Explain America's involvement in Cuba under the Batista government.
2 Explain the causes of the revolution in Cuba. (4×1) (4)(4×1) (4)
3 Discuss why the Bay of Pigs affair was such an embarrassment for the USA. (4×1) (4)
4 Justify how it could be argued that American actions towards the Castro regime pushed it into becoming communist and into turning to the USSR for help. Your answer should be about 100 words. (4×2) (8)

The Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)

To prevent another US-backed invasion of Cuba, and to co-operate with his new ally, Castro agreed to allow the USSR to build missile bases in Cuba. The USSR thought this was appropriate given that NATO had missile basis in Turkey. In October 1962 an American spy plane photographed these missile bases on the island. The missiles themselves were being transported by ship from the USSR. This created great alarm in Washington, because, once they were in place, every major US city would be in range of the missiles.

Some of the president's advisors thought that the USA should attack Cuba by bombing the missile bases or by sending an army to invade it, but the US president, John Kennedy, wanted to avoid a direct **confrontation**. Instead he ordered a **naval blockade** to be set up to prevent the Russian ships from reaching Cuba.

Key words

confrontation
a clash between two sides; a face-to-face meeting; war

naval blockade
using ships to surround an area to cut off movement and trade

For a tense few days the world awaited the Soviet reaction. US forces were placed on full alert and the world waited to see whether there would be a clash at sea which would lead to a nuclear war. However, once they reached the blockade, the Soviet ships turned back. The Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, was not willing to risk war and was prepared to negotiate. The superpowers then reached an agreement: the USSR would dismantle the missile bases, if the USA lifted its blockade and guaranteed not to invade Cuba. The USA also agreed, secretly, that it would remove its own missile bases from Turkey.

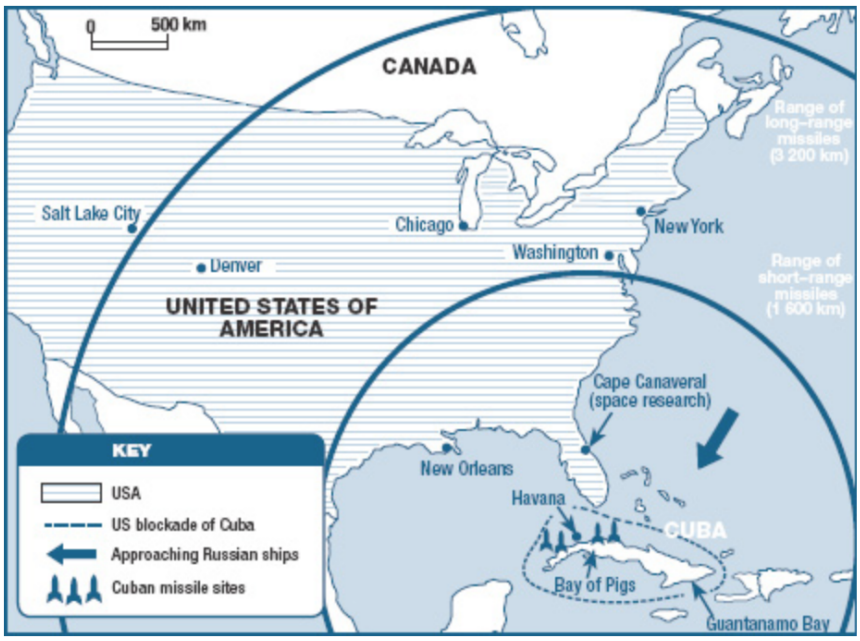
The Cuban Missile Crisis was 'brinkmanship' in action. It showed that neither superpower was willing to risk a nuclear war. However, when they realised just how close to war they had come, the two leaders agreed to set up a 'hot-line', a direct telephone link between the **Kremlin** and the **White House**. This line was to be used whenever a similar crisis threatened. They also signed a nuclear test ban treaty, agreeing not to test nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, underwater or in space.

Key words

Kremlin
the official reside of the Soviet leader in Moscow

White House
the official residence of the US president in Washington DC

Source R *A map showing the American naval blockade and the range of the missiles that were going to be placed in Cuba. These missiles were Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles or ICBMs, which could be fired over long distances.*



Source S *The crisis only lasted 13 days. In this extract Stone describes the demands and decisions made in the last three days. (From Norman Stone*, The Atlantic and its Enemies, *Penguin, Harmondsworth, 2011, page 206)*

October the 25th and 26th marked the height of the crisis. Khrushchev realized that Kennedy was entirely serious, that he would invade Cuba, and was not bluffing. A letter was then composed – the Soviet missiles would be withdrawn, in return for an American pledge not to invade. A further letter was sent on the 27th, and a condition was added, that the American missiles should be withdrawn from Turkey. Khrushchev had claimed that if these missiles were indeed withdrawn, then it would be a Soviet victory. That evening, the USA indicated that they might indeed be withdrawn, but not at once and not in public, since other allies might feel let down. On the 28th the deal was done and revealed at 9am on the radio – no American invasion, and withdrawal in due course of the ICBMs from Turkey; Soviet withdrawal of missiles from Cuba.

Source T *This source analyses the significance of the Cuban Missile Crisis. (From Allan M. Winkler*, The Cold War: A History in Documents, *Oxford University Press, New York, 2003, page 93)*

The Cuban missile crisis was the most terrifying confrontation of the Cold War. At the time the world was closer to nuclear war than ever before and felt itself lucky to have survived. In the immediate aftermath, Kennedy was hailed as a hero who had stood firm, but later critics charged that what he liked to portray as his finest hour was in fact an excessive response that escalated the crisis.

One response to the crisis was renewed agitation to try to control nuclear arms. That effort led to the Limited Test Ban Treaty, banning atmospheric and underwater nuclear testing, signed in the summer of 1963 by the United States, the USSR and Britain.

Source U *This source describes the impact of the Cuban Missile Crisis on Khrushchev's career. (From J.C. Griffiths*, The Cuban Missile Crisis, *Wayland, 1986)*

The missile sites were dismantled and with them went Khrushchev's prestige in the Soviet Union. It was not long, in October 1964, before Nikita Khrushchev, 'the missile man' as he was popularly known in the Soviet Union, was deposed. He spent the rest of his life in modest surroundings in semi-disgrace.

Yet Khrushchev showed equal statesmanship, restraint and firmness to Kennedy throughout the crisis. He did not mobilise Soviet troops, as Kennedy had done with his own, and his … message to Kennedy … showed a coolness as well as courage.

Activity 9: (individual) Explain the events and significance of the Cuban Missile Crisis

1 Use the text to explain why missiles in Cuba would threaten the American 'sphere of influence' in the Americas and Caribbean. (3×1) (3)
2 Use Source R and your knowledge to explain how military alliances and ICBMs changed the nature of warfare. (3×2) (6)
3 Use Source S to explain why both sides claimed the end of the Cuban Missile crisis as a success. (2×2) (4)
4 Use Sources T and U to show how interpretations of Khrushchev and Kennedy have changed. (8)
5 a) Use Source T and the text to explain how this crisis was an example of 'brinkmanship'. (4×1) (4)
b) What impact did this have on future decisions about the arms race? (4×1) (4)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 4.

Who was to blame for the Cold War?

There are different interpretations about who was to blame for the start of the Cold War. At the time there were two main viewpoints about this – the Soviet view and the Western view.

The Soviet view

The Soviets blamed the USA for starting the Cold War for the following reasons:

- The West did not understand that the USSR was simply trying to ensure its security against future invasion; the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe was defensive rather than expansionist. In many of his speeches made at the time, Stalin repeated this concern about Soviet safety and security.
- The USSR had suffered terribly during the Second World War, and needed to make sure that this did not happen again. In contrast to this, at the end of the war the USA was in a much stronger position on an economic and military level.
- The USSR was not planning to take over the rest of the world; it was protecting Soviet land rather than promoting communism.
- The strongly anti-communist attitude of the new US president, Harry Truman, made the post-war tension much worse.

The Western view

In the **orthodox** Western view, Stalin was to blame for the start of the Cold War for the following reasons:

- Stalin had set out to conquer as much territory as possible after the Second World War.

- He wanted to increase the Soviet 'sphere of influence' and was prepared to use force to do so.
- The Soviets did not hold free elections in the East European satellite states and they became one-party communist states.
- This forced the West to adopt a policy of 'containment' to prevent the further spread of communism in Europe; this was the reason behind the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift and the formation of NATO.

Key word

orthodox
the accepted, traditional, standard interpretation

The revisionist Western view

By the 1960s, some Western historians had started to question the standard (or orthodox) view that blamed Stalin for the start of the Cold War. They were called '**revisionist**' historians because they revised the views that had previously been accepted as 'the truth' in the West. The revisionists had the following view:

- The USA was to blame for the start of the Cold War, because it wanted to ensure American economic domination of Europe.
- At the end of the Second World War, the USA was in a strong position: it had the atom bomb, its economy was strong and its people had the highest standard of living in the world.
- The USSR, on the other hand, was too weak to pose any real threat to the West.
- The West used the idea of a Soviet 'threat' to justify its own desire to dominate the world.

Key word

revisionist
a view which challenges the standard interpretation of history

The post-revisionist view

More recent interpretations do not place the blame on either side for being the sole cause of the Cold War. This is called the post-revisionist view:

- The Cold War developed because of misunderstanding on both sides.
- The USSR had genuine security concerns in Eastern Europe which the West failed to understand.
- However, Soviet actions after the war created genuine fear and suspicion in the West.
- Truman, who replaced Roosevelt as US president at a critical time, had little experience of foreign affairs but believed that it was important to take a tough line to protect American interests; Roosevelt on the other hand had believed that it was possible to co-operate with the USSR.

More recent views

In 1989 the Cold War ended, and in 1991 the USSR collapsed, bringing to an end over 80 years of communist domination. After this, the new government in Russia opened up the Soviet **archives** and many documents that had been kept secret for years were made available to historians. The US government also made more information available to the public. Many of the key figures that were involved in the early years of the Cold War have published diaries and memoirs. As a result, much more information is now available to historians and to the public. This has caused many people to question their views about the origins of the Cold War.

New word

archive
the collection of official government records

Source V *Extract from Andrew Alexander*, The Soviet Threat was a Myth, The Guardian, *19 April 2002, Guardian News & Media Ltd. Alexander was a journalist on a British newspaper, the Daily Mail, which, during the Cold War, had promoted a consistently anti-Soviet viewpoint.*

As I researched the diaries and memoirs of the key figures involved, it dawned on me that my orthodox view of the Cold War as a struggle to the death between Good (Britain and America) and Evil (the Soviet Union) was seriously mistaken. In fact, as history will almost certainly judge, it was one of the most unnecessary conflicts of all time, and certainly the most perilous [dangerous].

Truman adopted an aggressive attitude to Russia … There would be 'no **compromise** with evil' … He added that no one would be allowed to interfere with US policy in Latin America.

So, Russian interference in countries essential to its safety was evil. But exclusive US domination of its own sphere of influence was righteous …

The fact that the Cold War continued after Stalin's death does not, as some claim, prove the Soviet's unchanging global ambitions. The [Soviet/Warsaw Pact] invasions of Hungary in 1956 and of Czechoslovakia in 1968 were brutal acts, but were aimed at protecting Moscow's buffer zone. The same may be said of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1980 … In none of these cases was there a territorial threat to the West.

New word

compromise
an agreement in which both sides agree to accept some decisions which they don't fully agree with in order to reach a settlement

Activity 10: (groups) Discuss changing interpretations of the Cold War

1 Study Source V and answer these questions.
   a) How has Alexander's perspective on the Cold War changed? (6×1) (6)
   b) Suggest two different reasons for the change in his interpretation. (2×2) (4)
2 Hold a discussion about who was to blame for starting the Cold War. In this discussion, each person in the group should represent one of the five perspectives outlined in the text (that is the Soviet view, the Western view, the revisionist Western view, the post-revisionist view and more recent views). (N/A)

This first section in the unit is not examinable.

UNIT 1.2 The extension of the Cold War: China
How did China rise as a world power after 1949?

At the end of the Second World War, China was in a state of political disunity and weakness, and there was no central government to maintain control. However in the decades that followed, it emerged as a major world power that strongly influenced the nature of the Cold War. This happened after 1949, when China became the second major country in the world to become a communist state.

At the time, it seemed to the West that the Soviet side had gained an important advantage in the Cold War. The USSR welcomed the People's Republic of China (PRC) as an ally, and the two countries signed a treaty of friendship. The Americans, however, saw the communist victory as part of a Soviet plot to spread communism around the world. But China later broke with the Soviet Union and became a powerful state in its own right. This was the background to the rise of China as the world superpower that it has become today.

The establishment of Communist China in 1949

Events leading up to the communist victory in 1949

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was established in 1921. One of its leaders was Mao Zedong. The CCP was involved in a long civil war against the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party, led by Jiang Jieshi (also called Chiang Kai Shek). The civil war started in 1927 and only came to an end in 1949, although there was a brief period when the two sides co-operated with each other to fight against the Japanese invasion of China (1937–45). During the long civil war, the CCP was initially weak and forced to retreat from Nationalist armies to the more remote regions of the interior. But the CCP built up support there among the peasants by treating them with respect and introducing land reform policies.

After the Japanese had been defeated at the end of the Second World War, the civil war in China started again and the CCP began to defeat the Nationalists. In October 1949 the forces of the CCP, the Red Army, marched into Beijing and Mao Zedong announced the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The remaining Nationalist forces – more than two million soldiers, government officials and refugees – withdrew from the **mainland** of China and established a separate government on the island of Taiwan, which they called Nationalist China. The West did not **recognise** the Communist Chinese government as the official government of China but supported Nationalist China until 1979.

New words

mainland
the main part of a country, situated on a continent rather than on islands off the coast

recognise
to formally accept the status of a new government

The establishment of a communist state

Once in power the communists introduced revolutionary changes. China became a one-party state, in which Mao, the chairman of the party, had enormous power. Collective farms replaced private landownership. A massive effort was made to teach basic literacy skills, and by the mid-1960s over 90% of the population could read and write (compared to only 20% in 1949).

Great efforts were also made to industrialise the economy, through an ambitious Five Year Plan. Thousands of Soviet scientists, technicians and engineers went to China to assist with over 500 major projects, such as factories, dams and other infrastructure.

Features of Maoism

- Promotion of ongoing revolutionary activity until a classless society was achieved.
- **Transformation** of society focusing on rural development and small-scale industry among the peasants.
- Promotion of the value of manual labour over mental labour.
- Need for communism in such a vast, poor country with manual labour as its main strength.
- The need to develop a collective identity and stamp out any sense of individual identity.

This photograph shows women agricultural workers in modern China. As collectivisation of agriculture increased, women became more involved in agricultural labour. Mao said that the revolution should improve the lives of women. The communists outlawed the ancient practice of foot binding and women's lives were improved by better educational possibilities but, in general, men still held the positions of authority.

At first there were similarities between the changes introduced in China and those introduced by the Bolsheviks in Russia. But from the mid-1950s China, under Mao's direction, began to follow a different course. This is called Maoism. He believed transformation in China would have to be based in the rural areas, so in 1958 he launched the Great Leap Forward. Industry was decentralised and combined with agricultural development. The whole population was divided into **communes**, each numbering about 250

000 people. All privately owned land or possessions were taken away. The people were organised into production brigades and children were cared for in day nurseries so that all adults were available for work. There was opposition to these policies but it was crushed.

New words

transformation
complete change to bring about improvement

commune
large collective farm where everything is communally owned

The Great Leap Forward was a failure. Food production dropped and there was a serious famine in which as many as 30 million people died. Mao's position was damaged by this failure. In the early 1960s he was forced out of his position as president of China, although he remained chairman of the Communist Party.

Activity 1: (pairs) Explain the establishment of Communism in China

Use the information in the text to answer these questions:

1 Describe the communist policies that were implemented by the CCP.
2 Explain the following in the context of the establishment of the(8×1) (8)
Communist system in China: a) Mao Zedong (4×1) (4), b) the Kuomintang (4×1) (4), c) Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai Shek) (1×1) (1), d) the People's Republic of China (1×1) (1) and e) Taiwan (3×1) (3).
3 Explain the central features of Maoism. (6×1) (6)
4 Compare how Mao's version of communism differed from that of the Soviet Union. (2×2) (4)

The rest of this unit is for examination purposes.

The Cultural Revolution

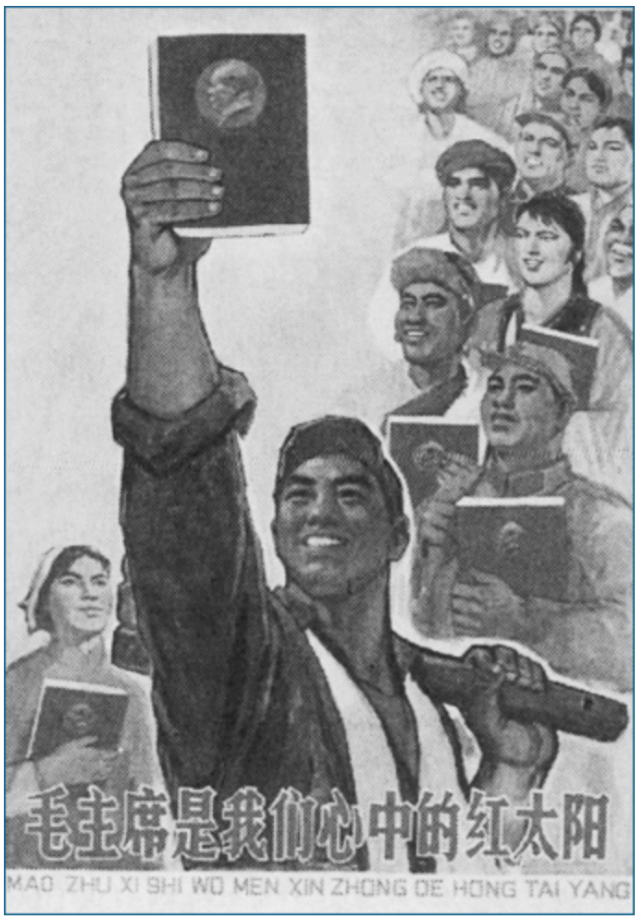
Mao believed that the process of revolution should continue until a classless society was formed. He felt that the Soviet Union had betrayed Marxist principles because the revolution had ended and there were still divisions in Soviet society. He feared that the original ideas of Marx and Lenin were in danger of being forgotten. He wanted to 'purify' China of any influences that took it away from a communist path. To do this, he introduced what became known as the Cultural Revolution, between 1966 and 1969. Anyone who did not support ongoing peasant-based revolution was called 'revisionist' and needed to be 're-educated' (brainwashed into believing communist beliefs) or eliminated.

Massive student demonstrations were organised and student **militia**, known as the Red Guards, attacked anyone and anything that were considered to be revisionist. Their actions were based on the famous Little Red Book (*The Thoughts of Chairman Mao*). The Red Guards forced schools and universities to close down, and sent teachers and lecturers to work in the fields with the peasants. They invaded factories, offices and homes, destroying anything that they accused of being revisionist. Thousands of innocent people were beaten, tortured, or imprisoned and possibly one million were killed. The Cultural Revolution caused chaos in China, disrupting the education of millions of young people and affecting industrial production. It also caused many people to lose faith in the CCP.

New word

militia
armed guards

Source A *Propaganda, like this poster from 1958, was used to promote a 'cult of personality' around Mao. It shows a young student holding up Mao's Little Red Book. The devotion to Mao is seen in this chant sung by the Red Guard: 'Every letter in Chairman Mao's words is gold and every sentence is truth. Mao Zedong's thought is the red sun in the hearts of the entire Chinese people and of the revolutionary people of the world over; it is their life line and their treasure. Fish cannot live without water and without Mao Zedong's thought how can people make revolution?'*



Source B *The aim of the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1969 was to destroy all ideas and artefacts of old thought. This included changing the school curriculum and re-educating the teachers and intellectuals, and forbidding traditional cultural practices: dress style, rituals, religions, theatre and opera. The uniform worn by the Red Guards became the standard dress. This poster shows a Red Guard smashing symbols of old thinking such as a Buddha and classical Chinese texts and symbols of foreign cultural impact such as a crucifix and an LP record.*

Some historians have interpreted the Cultural Revolution as an attempt by Mao to regain the position of power and control which he had before the failure of the Great Leap Forward. Another interpretation is that it reflected a struggle between the left (Maoist) and right (supporting aspects of capitalism) wings within the CCP at the time, with Mao using the Cultural Revolution to get rid of rivals within the CCP.

Source C *Students and teachers march through Beijing's Tienanmen Square in support of Chairman Mao Zedong. They hold placards reading 'Raise High Mao Tse-Tung's Thought and Great Red Flag'. Mao believed in using the revolutionary enthusiasm of the youth. They became the driving force behind the Cultural Revolution.*

Source D *This extract from John Ray and James Hagerty*, The Twentieth Century World, *Hutchinson Education, London, 1986, page 196 gives an explanation of why Mao implemented the Cultural Revolution and describes the effects it had.*

Through the Cultural Revolution, Mao hoped to shake up those officials who were not changing quickly enough to his way of thinking. He hoped to get the young on his side and stressed the idea that the individual must give way to the community.

By the time the Cultural Revolution came to an end thousands of officials had lost their jobs. Revolutionary committees were set up everywhere to run the country and Mao's position in China had been strengthened. Many of his opponents were removed. Lin Piao, who had once been a close comrade, disappeared in mysterious circumstances in which it was said that he had died in an air crash.

Source E *In this extract, C.V. Findlay and J.A. Rothney describe how Mao stamped out opposition within China with the Cultural Revolution. (From* Twentieth Century World, *Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1994, page 456)*

Liu and Deng [leaders in the party] thought the time had come for organisation and expertise, but Mao thought that the party needed to change, either from within or by external force. He tried the first approach in 1962 with a Socialist Education Movement, under which many cadres, teachers and students were transferred downward to work among the peasants. Mao blamed the disappointing results on sabotage by people like Liu.

By 1965, Mao was ready to try changing the party from without. He launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to destroy the 'four olds' (ideology, thought, customs and habits) and complete the 'transition from socialism to communism'. Mao used the media to attack supporters of Liu and Deng. He relied on the army, which had undergone intense indoctrination. Mao also mobilized the youth, forming groups of teenagers into Red Guards – at least 13 million of them by 1966. Armed with the little red books of quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong, the Red Guards bypassed the party and its Youth League to launch a reign of terror across the land. Probably because of Mao's age and infirmity, his wife, Jiang Qing, rose to a controlling position in the arts, media and education. Attacked as 'capitalist roaders' (advocates of moving China onto a capitalist road to development), Liu and Deng were toppled, and Lin Biao became first vice chairman of the Central Committee and heir apparent to Mao.

Mao's death in 1976 brought to an end this period of revolutionary change in China. After his death, the 'Gang of Four' tried to seize power. They were a radical group (including Mao's widow, Jiang Qing) who had played a key role in directing the Cultural Revolution. The coup failed and all four were arrested, put on trial and found guilty of treason. The leaders who succeeded them were not as revolutionary as Mao had been, and they introduced policies to 'modernise' China. Mao's role in stirring up the Cultural Revolution was never publicly acknowledged (until five years after his death when his 'mistakes' and confused thinking' were blamed for some of the failures and excesses).

Activity 2: (individual) Analyse the features of the Cultural Revolution

1 Mao wanted to create loyal communist citizens. Any other identities or symbols of them had to be destroyed or changed. Using Sources B, D and E, their captions and the text, list the various ways in which this was done. (6×1) (6)

2 The following phrases are used in Source E. Explain what they mean:
   a) 'transferred downward' (2×1) (2)
   b) 'the four olds' (2×1) (2)
   c) 'Red Guards' and their 'reign of terror' (4×1) (4)
   d) 'capitalist roaders'. (2×2) (4)

3 The text explains two of the arguments that historians have used to explain the Cultural Revolution.
   a) Identify these arguments. (2×2) (4)
   b) Extract evidence from Sources D and E that reinforces each argument. (2×4) (8)

4 Study the text on the Cultural Revolution and Sources B and C.
   a) Write a paragraph explaining the purpose of the Cultural Revolution and how it was carried out. (10)
   b) Explain the role of the youth in implementing the Cultural Revolution. (2×2) (4)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 4(a).

THINK AND DISCUSS: This is a famous quotation from Mao: 'A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.' Discuss what you think he meant by this and critique this revolutionary style of thinking. Then recommend ways in which you think change should be brought about.

Chinese relations with the Soviet Union and the USA (1949 to 1973)

Relations between China and the USSR

When the People's Republic of China was established in October 1949, Stalin welcomed it as a victory for world communism. Mao visited Moscow and in 1950 the two countries signed a Treaty of Friendship. In terms of this treaty, the Soviet Union gave China a significant amount of aid, in the form of advisors, technicians, and industrial and military equipment. Relations between the two countries were strengthened by their support for North Korea in the Korean War. Both countries felt threatened by their common enemy, the USA, which was building up anti-communist alliances in Asia.

However, there were fundamental differences in the form that the communist revolution had taken in China and the USSR:

- Karl Marx (the 'father' of communism) had believed that a successful revolution could only come about through the revolutionary actions of the **proletariat** (the urban industrial working class). This is what had happened in Russia.
- However, the Chinese Communist Party had built up its support amongst the rural peasants, by putting its policies into practice in the areas it controlled during the long civil war. In this process, Mao developed his own ideas about Marx's theories. He believed that change should be focused on the countryside and should meet the needs of the peasants rather than the urban population.

- In Mao's view, the revolution had not ended when the CCP came to power in 1949. There was to be a continuous process of transformation until the goal of Marxism – a classless society – was achieved; whereas the Soviets believed that continued revolutionary action would destroy the country, and that this transformation would happen gradually over time.
- When Khrushchev replaced Stalin as leader of the USSR in 1956, he denounced the radical features of Stalinism and proposed a policy of 'peaceful co-existence' with the West. By this he meant accepting different 'spheres of influence' with the West and not pushing for world revolution; in other words, accepting that two different systems could live together at the same time. After this, China accused the USSR of 'revisionism'; that is, of revising (changing) the ideas of Marx and Lenin, who had taught that revolutionary activity must continue until the whole world had been won for communism.

Key word
proletariat a Marxist term for the working class

Source F *The Soviet scholar Fyodor Burlatsky explained Soviet concerns about Maoist policy in* The True Face of Maoism, *Novosti Press, Moscow, 1969. (Quoted in Peter Mantin*, Questions of Evidence: The Twentieth Century World, *Hutchinson, London, 1997, page 89)*

We could not help feeling doubts about the plan to increase steel output in the People's Republic of China from 5 million to 80–100 million tons in five years, and to increase total industrial output six and a half times over. These targets were not based on any sensible economic calculations. We could not fail to feel alarmed when, with every step they took, the leaders of the People's Republic of China began to pour abuse on Lenin's ideas that mankind can inevitably evolve gradually into communism. They also abandoned Lenin's idea of paying workers and went over instead to the egalitarian distribution in the people's communes.

Source G *A speech by Khrushchev in 1956 stating that communism and capitalism can exist together peacefully. (Quoted in* The Rise of Communist China, *Schools History Council, Holmes McDougall Ltd, Edinburgh, 1977, page 71)*

We believe the countries with differing social systems can do more than exist side by side. It is necessary to proceed further, to improve relations, strengthen confidence between countries and co-operate.

There is no other way out in current conditions. In fact, there are only two paths: either peaceful co-existence or the most devastating war in history. There is no third way.

Source H *Letter from the Chinese government to the Soviet Government in 1963. It implies criticism of the Soviets for not supporting continued social revolution in China after the takeover of the CCP. (From Keesing's Contemporary Archives – Volume 9, August, 1963 Chinese, Soviet, page 19567)*

For several years there have been differences within the international communist movement ... The central issue is … whether or not to accept the fact that the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system need to make revolution, and whether or not to accept the fact that the people already on the Socialist road need to carry their revolution to the end.

The following revisionist views are wrong and should be changed: the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be resolved without a proletarian revolution in each country and the struggle between oppressed nations and imperialism can be resolved without revolution.

These differences in interpretation of Marx's ideas were one of the causes of a breakdown in their alliance. However, there were other reasons as well:

- There were disputes over territory along the long border between China and the USSR.
- China felt that it did not receive enough aid from the USSR, especially since non-communist countries (such as India and Egypt) received more Soviet aid than China did.
- The USSR was critical of Mao's Great Leap Forward, believing that parts of it were unrealistic.
- China was angry when the USSR refused to supply it with nuclear weapons.
- Both sides started openly competing for influence among the newly independent nations in Asia and Africa.

In 1960, the USSR suddenly withdrew its advisors from China and cancelled all aid. The 1960s were a period of armed border clashes, rivalry and bitterness between the two former allies. China was openly critical of Khrushchev's handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. In a war between India and Pakistan in 1965, the Chinese backed Pakistan while the USSR backed India. Relations between China and the Soviet Union remained cool, and sometimes even hostile, until the 1990s. This break in their relationship is called the **Sino-Soviet split**. ('Sino' means Chinese.)

Key word

Sino-Soviet split
break in relationship between China and the Soviet Union which took place in the early 1960s

Source I *This propaganda poster from the 1960s shows China uniting the workers of the world. The three workers represent the Americas, Asia and Africa. The slogan above the large globe says, 'Proletarians of the world unite' and the title of the poster is 'Down with American imperialism and Russian Revisionists!'*

Activity 3: (pairs) Examine the Sino-Soviet split

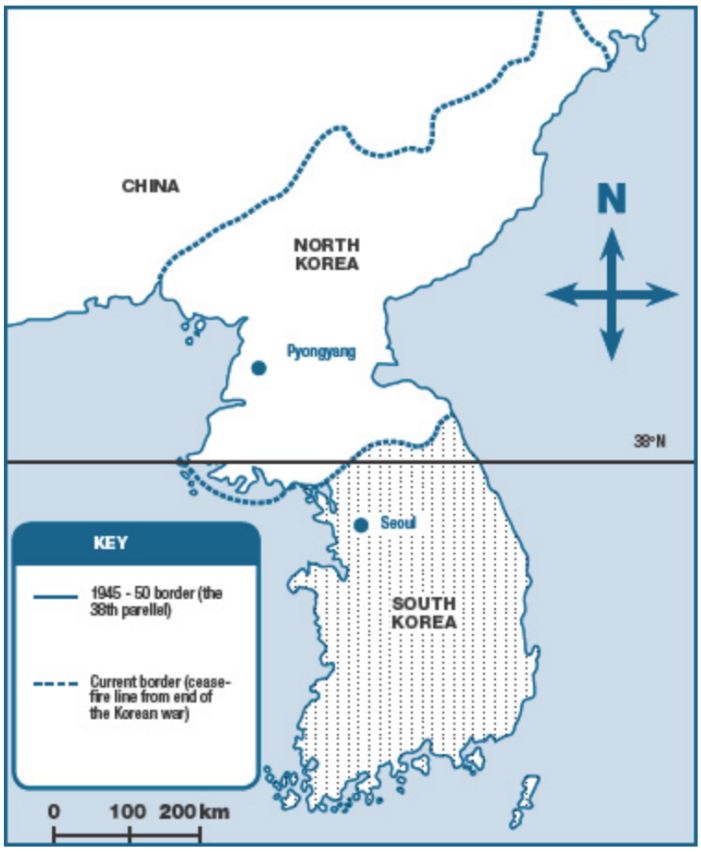
1 Sources F and G highlight four issues that the Soviets have concerns about. List the four issues. (4×2) (8)
2 Study Source H. Identify the two fundamental issues about which the international communist movement disagree and then explain which views the Chinese support. (3×2) (6)
3 China and the Soviet Union were not in fact strong allies during the Cold War. Use the text to identify the three main issues about which they disagreed. (3×2) (6)
4 Initially the Soviets and the Chinese saw themselves as potential allies. Explain why this was the case. (3×2) (6)
5 Study Sources F to I.
   a) What kind of source each one is and why? (5×1) (5)
   b) Explain why it is crucial to know who created each source when analysing these sources. (4×1) (4)
6 Analyse the ways in which the poster (Source I) reinforces the information given in Source H. (2×3) (6)

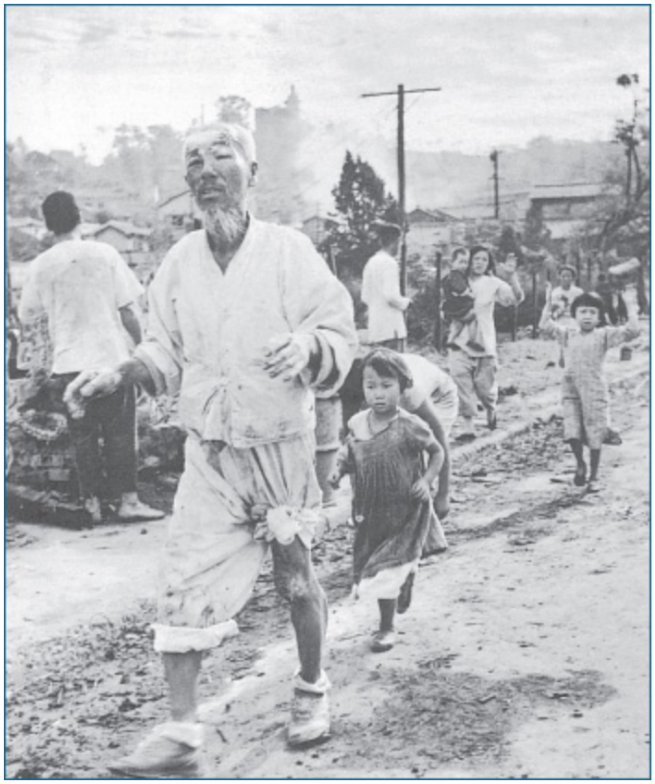
Relations between China and the USA

When the Chinese Communist Party came to power in 1949, the West was worried and openly hostile towards the new government as they had supported the Chinese Nationalists in the civil war. The USA and other Western governments continued to recognise the Nationalist government in Taiwan as the representative of the people of China. For over 20 years, the USA blocked Communist China's entry to the United Nations.

Tension between the USA and China became much worse during the Korean War (1950–53). At the end of the Second World War, Korea had been divided into communist North Korea and non-communist South Korea. When North Korean troops invaded South Korea in 1950, just one year after the communist victory in China, the US was convinced that this was yet another attempt by the USSR and its allies to spread communism. The US and other Western nations sent troops as part of a United Nations force to help South Korea by driving the North Korean forces out of South Korea. When the American-led forces invaded North Korea, China sent troops to help the North Koreans. This brought Chinese and American forces into direct conflict. The Korean War dragged on until 1953 before peace was restored and the country once again divided into North and South. Over three million people, mainly Korean civilians, died in the war. As a result of it, the US extended its policy of containment, by offering economic aid and military protection to other countries in Asia. The communists in China gained support at home, as they were seen as standing up to and beating back imperialists. After this, China portrayed the US as its main enemy and all remaining Westerners were expelled from China.

Source J *A map showing the division of Korea along the 38th parallel (line of latitude), the final border between the two countries after the Second World War. North Korea, under Kim Il Sung, was supported by China and the Soviet Union, while the government of Syngman Rhee in the south had American backing.*





The people worst affected by the war were the Korean civilians. Over two million of them were killed in this war.

Source K *From an official statement by Zhou En-lai, vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, 1950, stressing the issue of Formosa. (Formosa was another name for Taiwan.) Remember that the West did not recognise Communist China as the official government of China and still supported the Nationalists in Taiwan.*

> The attack of the puppet government of Syngman Rhee on the Korean People's Democratic Republic, made at the bidding of the US Government, was a premeditated move of the USA designed to create a pretext for US invasion of Formosa, Korea, Vietnam and the Philippines … No matter what the obstructive action the American imperialists may take, Formosa remains part of China, and will remain so forever … The people of our country will fight as one man for the liberation of Formosa from the grasp of the American aggressors.

Source L *Statement from the US State Department, 1950, emphasising the significance of Korea in the Cold War*

> Korea is a symbol to the watching world. If we allow Korea to fall within the Soviet orbit, the world will feel we have lost another round in our match with the Soviet Union, and our prestige and the hopes of those who place their faith in us will suffer accordingly.

So the communist revolution in China – and the response of the USA to this revolution – led to the expansion of the Cold War. During the Vietnam War, China supported the North Vietnamese in their war against America. (You will learn about the Vietnam War in the next unit.) The United States and its allies saw Japan, their enemy during the Second World War, as their main anti-communist ally in East Asia.

Activity 4: (groups) Identify Cold War propaganda in the Korean War

1 Use Source J (the map) to answer these questions:
   a) How was Korea divided into North and South? (1×1) (1)
   b) Name the two capitals. (2×1) (2)
   c) Explain why China would have been concerned about events in Korea. (1×1) (1)
2 Study Sources K and L. Both are government statements. Find examples of the following propaganda techniques in them:
   - blaming the enemy (1×2) (2)
   - instilling fear (2×2) (4)
   - emotive language (2×2) (4)
   - promoting an 'us' versus 'them' mentality (2×2) (4)
   - one-sided selection of content. (2×3) (6)
3 Use the text and Sources K and L to explain in a paragraph how this civil war became much bigger and more deadly. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 3.

China's changing relationships with neighbouring states

This map shows China and the other countries of east Asia. You will be studying China's changing relationships with Tibet, India, Vietnam and Taiwan – identify each of them on the map.

China's relations with Tibet

Tibet is a mountainous region with its own distinct language and culture. From the 7th century onwards it was a strong centre of support for the **Buddhist** religion. Tibetans believed that their spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, was a **reincarnation** of a follower of the Buddha. The Dalai Lama sometimes controlled the Tibetan government in the capital, Lhasa. Centuries ago there had been a large independent Tibetan empire, but during the 18th century Tibet had become a '**protectorate**' of China. However, the Chinese allowed the Tibetans to manage their own affairs, especially in matters relating to religion.

During the 1920s, Tibet had taken advantage of the weakness and lack of unity in China to declare its

independence. But after the CCP came to power, Mao's People's Liberation Army invaded Tibet in 1950–51 and made it an **autonomous** region within the PRC. A Seventeen-Point Agreement was signed between China and the Tibetan authorities. This gave Tibet some autonomy in government, religious freedom and recognised the position of the Dalai Lama. But it also gave China control over Tibetan external affairs and over the Tibetan armed forces, which would be integrated with the Chinese army. Not all Tibetans accepted the Seventeen-Point Agreement and the Dalai Lama and other leaders later claimed that the Tibetans had been forced to sign it.

New words

Buddhist
eastern religion based on the teachings of the Buddha; Buddhism originated in India in about 500 BC and spread from there to China, Japan and parts of central and southeast Asia

reincarnation
the belief held by some religions that after death the human soul is reborn in another living being

protectorate
region or country protected and controlled by a stronger country

autonomous
independent

Tension between Tibetan and PRC troops increased and from the mid-1950s there was armed guerrilla resistance to Chinese control. This resistance was supported by the USA. In 1959 a revolt broke out in Lhasa after rumours that the Chinese were planning to arrest the Dalai Lama and take him to Beijing. Chinese troops crushed the revolt, killing thousands of Tibetans. The Dalai Lama, together with many Tibetan officials and leaders, escaped over the mountains and went into exile in India. The presence there of the Tibetan leaders in India caused tension between China and India. It also led to tension between China and the West, as many Western governments were sympathetic to the cause of the Tibetans in exile. Tension between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government continue to this day.

After the failed uprising, Tibet was placed more directly under Chinese rule. During the Cultural Revolution, Buddhist temples and monasteries in Tibet were looted and destroyed by the Red Guards. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Chinese authorities refused to allow contact between Tibet and the outside world. More recently, however, there has been a shift in policy and there are plans to build a direct high speed railway from Beijing to Lhasa to encourage tourism in Tibet.

Source M *This is extract from an article created by the BBC and can be found on* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7410745.stm. *It shows Beijing's stance on Tibet, based on various official Chinese sources. The interviewer asks about 'recent unrest'. This refers to the uprisings against Chinese control over Tibet in 2008 (the year that the Olympics were held in Beijing).*

Who was responsible for the recent unrest in Tibet?

We now possess sufficient evidence to prove that the Lhasa incident is part of the 'Tibetan people's uprising movement' organised by the Dalai clique. Its purpose is to create crisis in China by staging co-ordinated sabotage activities in Tibet. 'Tibet Independence' separatist forces led by the Dalai Lama takes the 2008 Beijing Olympics as their last straw to realise 'Tibetan independence'. The Dalai Lama keeps talking about a peaceful way. However, solid facts prove that his much-vaunted 'middle way' policy and 'peaceful demonstrations' are blatant lies fabricated by the Dalai himself and the Dalai clique.

(Press release: China Ministry of Public Security, April 2008)

What does the Chinese government think about reports by the Western media about the recent events in Tibet?

It is unfortunate that a few Western media outlets, including some from the United States, are ignorant of the obvious truths and are basing their reports on distorted facts and unfounded claims.

(Zhang Yun, Chinese consul general for Los Angeles, Xinhua, April 2008)

Activity 5: (pairs) Analyse China's relations with its neighbours: Tibet

Use the text to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise:

1 How did the United States become involved in Tibet? (2×1) (2)
2 a) Identify the causes of the 1959 revolt in Lhasa. (2×1) (2)
b) Explain the results of the revolt. (3×1) (3)
3 Explain why the Communist government invaded Tibet in 1950–1.
4 a) Discuss what the Seventeen-Point Agreement was. (2×2) (4)(2×1) (2)
b) Why did some Tibetans not support this agreement? (2×1) (2)
5 Study Source M and answer these questions:
a) Identify from where the information for the answers in this source comes and explain why knowing this is significant when reading the answers. (2×2) (4)
b) Analyse how the statements in Source M explain away criticism of China's control over Tibet. (4×1) (4)
6 It is important to see an issue from both sides. Compare the main arguments made by the Tibetans with the emphasis given by the Chinese. (2×4) (8)

China's relations with India

The relationship between China and India – the two main Asian powers – was a troubled one. Initially India supported Mao's China, and India was one of the first countries to formally recognise the People's Republic of China. In 1954 the two countries signed a joint agreement of 'peaceful co-existence' and India officially recognised Tibet as being part of China.

However, there was tension between India and China over two areas on the border between them, Arunachal Pradesh and Aksai Chin. These areas had been claimed by the British as part of their colony of India, but the Chinese did not accept this claim. When India became an independent country in 1947,

these two areas were included within the borders of India, but China continued to regard the areas as part of China. In 1957 the Chinese built a road across Aksai Chin to transport troops and supplies to Tibet. India started setting up **garrisons** and border posts in both regions.

New word

garrison
a body of soldiers stationed in a fortified military post

After the Tibetan uprising of 1959, relations between India and China became worse. The Chinese were angry because the Indian government allowed the Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetan refugees to flee to India and settle there. The Chinese authorities believed that the exiled Tibetans were plotting against China.

In 1962 a brief war that lasted only 20 days broke out between India and China when Chinese troops moved into the disputed border areas. In this war, India received military supplies from the USA, as well as from the USSR (as a result of the Sino-Soviet split). The war ended when a compromise agreement was reached:

- China retained control over Aksai Chin.
- The Chinese withdrew from Arunachal Pradesh, leaving India in control there.

However, tension between the two countries remained, and there was more fighting between Indian and Chinese troops in Sikkim in 1967.

The 1962 war has been interpreted by some as an attempt by Mao to strengthen his own position within China by showing he could defeat those who supported Tibet. In this the war succeeded, since the outcome of the conflict was seen as a Chinese victory. However, as a result of Chinese actions during the war, other countries became suspicious of China and began to see it as an aggressive force within the region. Also, India shifted from its policy of non-alignment (which means not allying itself to one side in the Cold War) to getting support and aid from the Americans.

Source N *This extract from Wikipedia discusses the aftermath of the 1962 war. The note at the top, which appears on the website, indicates that the information given is controversial. Normally one would not use a source from Wikipedia when doing research – read the Skills Support information on the next page. (From* http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Sino-Indian_War&oldid=584005115*)*

The neutrality of this section is disputed. Please see the discussion on the talk page. Please do not remove this message until the dispute is resolved.

China

According to James Calvin [a US Marine trainer], even though China won a military victory it lost in terms of its international image. Western nations, especially the United States, were already suspicious of Chinese attitudes, motives and actions. These nations saw China's goals as world conquest and clearly viewed China as the aggressor in the Border War. China's first nuclear weapon test in October 1964 and her support of Pakistan in the 1965 India Pakistan War tended to confirm the American view of communist world objectives …

India

Arguably, the main lesson India learned from the war was the need to strengthen its own defences and a shift from Nehru's foreign policy with China based on his stated concept of 'brotherhood'. Because of India's inability to anticipate Chinese aggression, Prime Minister Nehru faced harsh criticism from government officials, for having promoted pacifist relations with China … Indians in general became highly sceptical of China and its military. Many Indians view the war as a betrayal of India's attempts at establishing a longstanding peace with China and started to question Nehru's usage of the term '*Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai*' (meaning 'Indians and Chinese are brothers'). The war also put an end to Nehru's earlier hopes that India and China would form a strong Asian Axis to counteract the increasing influence of the Cold War bloc superpowers.

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to understand the strengths and weaknesses of Internet research compared with using books

Strengths of using the Internet

- The Internet is an excellent place to find information and includes a wide range of different topics.
- It includes the latest information and includes topics which may not be covered in books.
- The Internet is easily accessible to people who have access to computers at home, at school, or in public libraries.
- It is quick and easy to use.

Weaknesses of using the Internet

- Some of the information is not reliable, as anyone can put information on the Internet; they do not have to be authorities on the subject and usually their work is not checked by anyone else.
- It can take a long time to find what you need, as there is too much choice.
- It is often difficult to tell who has written the information online and what biases they have.

- You need to develop a sense of which sites will be reliable. For example, the ones ending in 'edu' are based at universities, so should be more accurate.
- Source N comes from Wikipedia. Although this is a useful site to start your research, you need to be aware that it is an open site which can be changed by anyone who reads it. You therefore have to study other sites to know whether the information on Wikipedia is reliable.

Strengths of published books and articles

Books and articles are:

- written by experts
- checked for accuracy by an official reader and then revised
- carefully compiled and proofread by editors.

- Much of the relevant or important information is sorted for you already and is logically structured.

Weaknesses of published books

- Sometimes there are not many books on certain topics.
- You have to buy your own books, which are expensive, or have access to good public libraries which may not be close to your home.
- They are not as up-to-date as the Internet (as it takes a few years to revise and re-publish a book).

Activity 6: (groups) Analyse China's relations with Tibet and India and assess the reliability of Internet sites

1 What is the connection between Tibet, India and China? (Hint: discuss Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh; the Tibetan exiles and the Dalai Lama.) (5×2) (10)

2 Read Source N and the box on 'How to know the strengths and weaknesses of Internet research compared with using books'.

a) Compare the information about the war in 1962 in the text and in Source N. Write down only the information from Source N that is different from that given in the text. (5×1) (5)

b) Although Source N is informative, explain why you cannot rely on it as being totally **trustworthy**. (Hint: look at the site address, the information on Wikipedia in the Skills Support information and the caution at the top of the source itself.) (4×1) (4)

c) When using Internet sites, explain why you have to be particularly careful about checking the accuracy of the information. (4×1) (4)

China's relations with Vietnam

After the Korean War, there was increasing foreign interest and involvement in southeast Asia: the West feared the spread of communism there, while the USSR and China feared being encircled by countries which were part of Western military alliances. As a result, there was intense rivalry between the superpowers in the region.

In earlier centuries there had been close ties between China and Vietnam. Parts of northern Vietnam were ruled by China for many centuries, and the Vietnamese adopted many aspects of Chinese culture, such as ideas about law, government and social organisation.

In the 19th century Vietnam became a French colony. After the Second World War Vietnamese nationalists fought a war of resistance against the French and defeated them in 1954. After this, Vietnam was divided into two: communist North Vietnam and non-communist South Vietnam. When war broke out between the two sides, the USA became involved to help South Vietnam. (You will learn more about the Vietnam War in Unit 1.3).

At first, North Vietnam depended on China for support and military supplies in the war against South Vietnam and the US. China built air bases near the Vietnamese border to protect Chinese interests, and also sent Chinese workers to Vietnam to keep the railway lines to China open. However, Mao was reluctant to give further direct assistance. This was partly because he did not want to send Chinese troops out of the country during the Cultural Revolution (when they were needed for his campaigns within China). As a result, North Vietnam turned increasingly to the USSR for support. This strengthened Mao's decision not to get more involved as he was unwilling to support the Soviet Union (after the Sino-Soviet split).

So, in spite of American claims that China was trying to extend communism in south-east Asia, in reality China followed a policy of non-intervention during much of the Vietnam War. This was especially the case after 1970, when China was moving towards better relations with the USA.

During the Vietnam War, relations between China and the North Vietnamese were sometimes tense; for example, North Vietnam criticised China over the Cultural Revolution. After North Vietnam won the war and united the two Vietnams as a communist state, relations with China did not improve. The close alliance of Vietnam with the Soviet Union was one reason for this hostility.

In 1979, 200 000 Chinese troops invaded the northern part of Vietnam. They claimed that when Vietnam had invaded Cambodia (an ally of China) it was trying to establish Vietnamese control over the region. In reality, the reason for the Vietnamese invasion was to overthrow the ruthless **Khmer Rouge** regime which was responsible for a genocide in which millions of Cambodian people died. A further reason for the on-going tension between China and Vietnam were disputes between Chinese merchants and local residents in northern Vietnam who thought the merchants were exploiting them. The invading Chinese troops were forced back after fierce clashes with the Vietnamese army. This war showed that although both countries were communist, local issues had the potential to cause conflict between them.

Key word

Khmer Rouge
the communist party which controlled Cambodia under the leadership of Pol Pot between 1974 and 1978, and carried out a ruthless genocide in which around one and a half million Cambodians were killed

Thirty percent of the population of Cambodia was killed by the communist government of the Khmer Rouge. Many of their victims were intellectuals. This genocide was known as the 'killing fields'. This photograph shows some of the skeletons of those killed during this period.

China's relations with Taiwan

Taiwan is a large island that lies off the south east coast of China. In 1949, when the CCP defeated the Nationalists in the civil war, Jiang Jieshi and about two million Nationalists fled from mainland China to Taiwan and set up the Republic of China. They refused to recognise the communist government under Mao and referred to them as 'communist bandits' (thieves). The Nationalists were supported in this by the US until the 1970s.

As a result, tension between mainland China and Taiwan remained high, since neither side recognised the other. Internationally, most countries and the United Nations came to recognise China, while only a few close allies of the USA in the Cold War era (including South Africa) recognised Taiwan. The Chinese government then saw, (and still sees) Taiwan as a breakaway province that rightfully belongs as part of mainland China.

However, the close support which the USA gave to Taiwan prevented China from taking military action against it. US naval ships have patrolled the Taiwan Straits (between mainland China and Taiwan) since 1950. When China attacked the Taiwanese controlled islands of Quemoy and Matsu in 1958 (by firing at them from the mainland), the USA threatened to use nuclear arms against China. However, at the same time, the USA also persuaded Taiwan not to retaliate. The Soviet leader Khrushchev also warned China not to invade Taiwan as the Soviets did not want to risk provoking US intervention in Asia. Missile bases established in Taiwan have also protected it from attack from the mainland.

Although relations between Taiwan and China have improved since the end of the Cold War era, diplomatic and military tension between the two still exists.

Activity 7: (individual) Analyse China's relations with Vietnam and Taiwan

Use the information in the text to answer these questions:

1 Discuss the reason for south-east Asia becoming an area of Cold War tension. (3×1) (3)
2 Explain why North Vietnam got more support from the Soviet Union than from China during its war against the USA. (3×2) (6)
3 The Chinese see Taiwan as a province of China; explain their reasons for not trying to take it back. (4×1) (4)
4 Analyse why and in what ways relations between China and Vietnam deteriorated, particularly after 1979. (3×2) (6)

To what extent was China established as a superpower by the time of Mao's death?

It was only in the late 1960s that China began to emerge as a leading world power after many years of weakness, disunity and chaos. Although the economy of China went through many changes and setbacks during the 1950s, the foundations were being laid for future stability and economic growth, in much the same way as Stalin's Five Year Plans had provided a basis for the USSR's emergence as a superpower. However, at this early stage, China was not yet on the way to being an economic giant.

Source O *This extract from Stanley Karnow*, Mao and China: Inside China's Cultural Revolution, *Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1984, page 512–3 summarises the economic progress the Chinese made during Mao's rule.*

> The Chinese succeeded in putting industrial and agricultural production back on an even keel after the Cultural Revolution. According to Chou En-lai, China's output of cotton cloth in 1970 was the largest in the world. Peking also had attained self-sufficiency in oil. Steel production, which had been set back by troubles in industrial areas, was recovering. The output of chemical fertilizer, long neglected, was rising and would be adequate for China's needs by 1975. And grain production, the index of agricultural conditions, had been more than 240 million tons in 1970 – an increase in 25 per cent over 1957, generally regarded as the last peak year. Through rationing, rigorous efforts, and wheat imports, the Chinese had accumulated about 40 million tons in grain reserves by the beginning of 1971 …
>
> In contrast to the heady days of the Cultural Revolution, when ideology was in command, Peking publicists now stressed the importance of technological specialisation.

Under Mao, China tried to present itself as the leading Marxist state. The Chinese believed that their form of communism was better suited than the Soviet one as a model for developing countries with large rural peasant populations. They also believed that they had more in common with former colonies because of their own experience of Western imperialism. This appealed to some Marxists in former colonies in Africa and Asia, though no other states became completely Maoist or allied solely to China.

After the Sino-Soviet split, there was competition between China and the USSR in their dealings with African countries. So, competing with the USSR, China set up several projects in Africa – the largest being the building of the Tan-Zam railway – to allow Zambia to export copper through the Tanzanian port of Dar-es-Salaam. Projects like this allowed China to gain respect and influence in Africa. China also provided support to some African liberation groups, such as the Pan Africanist Congress.

Source P *In this speech made in the 1970s, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere thanks the Chinese government for the 30-year interest-free loan that they gave to build the Tan-Zam railway line.*

> We are extremely grateful to the Chinese People's Republic for their help in the railway project … Let me state quite clearly that we appreciate this loan, and we appreciate the fact that it is interest-free … And that the Chinese people have not asked us to become communists in order to qualify for this loan! They know we would not sell our independence, even for the railway; and they have never at any point suggested that we should change any of our policies – internal or external – because of their help with this railway.

After the Sino-Soviet split, China began to assert itself as a major world power that was independent of both superpowers in the Cold War. China also became a nuclear power. In 1964, China developed its own nuclear weapons, causing concern to both the USA and the USSR. China was recognised interna-

tionally as a major power when it was made a permanent member of the **Security Council** of the United Nations, after its admission to the UN in 1971.

Key word

Security Council
part of the UN which has the power to make important decisions regarding conflict situations; the 5 permanent members (the US, USSR, Britain, France and China – Taiwan until 1971 when Communist China was recognised) must all approve decisions before military action can be taken

By the time of Mao's death in 1976 China was seen by other countries, including the USA and USSR, as a major world power. Although not yet a third 'superpower' equal to the USA and USSR at time of his death, China was well on the way to becoming one in the following decades.

Activity 8: (individual) Assess how China has increased its influence in the world

1 From the text, identify which developments during the 1960s and 1970s strengthened China's international status. (3×1) (3)
2 Study Source O and answer these questions:
   a) Explain the significance of the comments about cotton, oil, steel, agricultural fertiliser, grain and wheat. (4×2) (8)
   b) Explain what shifting from 'ideology' to 'technological specialisation' means. (2×2) (4)
3 Use the text to explain why Mao thought that the Chinese form of communism would suit African countries. (2×1) (2)
4 Use Source P to explain why China gained respect and influence in Africa. (4×1) (4)

Why did China try to improve relations with the USA after 1970?

During the 1950s and 1960s, suspicion and tension characterised the relationship between China and the USA. The USA feared that China would try to spread communism in Asia, just as the USSR had supported the establishment of communist governments in Eastern Europe. China in turn was suspicious of the USA because of its support for Taiwan and its role in the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

However, after China's split with the USSR, relations between China and the West began to improve. In the late 1960s attitudes among China's leaders towards the USA started to change. They no longer saw the USA as such a threat in the region, after the setbacks to the USA in the war in Vietnam, as well as the strength of opposition to the war in the USA itself. In addition, after the end of the Cultural Revolution, there were fewer objections among Chinese leaders to seeking better relations with the USA. This was partly because tension between China and the USSR was increasing at the time and there was a possibility that this would lead to war between the two communist countries. Some Chinese leaders began to call for 'peaceful coexistence' with the USA, although not all of them supported this change in policy.

In the 1970s China began to establish closer links with the USA. When the American table tennis team visited China in 1971, this was hailed as a major breakthrough because it was the first cultural or sporting contact between the US and communist China. Some people referred to it as 'ping-pong diplomacy'. Also

in 1971 the US withdrew its opposition to China's membership of the United Nations, and so at last it was admitted to the UN, and replaced Taiwan as a permanent member of the Security Council.

A photograph showing Nixon having dinner with Chinese leaders in China in 1972. His visit symbolised the beginning of more constructive relations between China and the USA.

In 1972, Nixon became the first US president to visit China. This official visit made it clear to the rest of the world that there was a change of policy in both China and the US. The situation in Vietnam had made the US realise that it needed to change its foreign policy in Asia. Although the US still recognised Taiwan, it also acknowledged the need for the future unity of China. The US agreed that it would protect China from Soviet attacks, while the Chinese agreed that they would stop supporting the North Vietnamese. The visit was the start of better relations between the two countries which increased especially after Mao's death in 1976.

Source Q *This is an extract from* The Times of India, *February 1972, which explains why the Americans and the Chinese both wanted better relations. (The writer uses the name Indochina, which is another name for Vietnam.)*

It all began at least ten years ago with the Sino-Soviet split. The more discerning Americans began to realise that China did not pose a threat to their vital interests. But two additional developments had to take place before an American president could think in terms of visiting Peking [Beijing] … As a result of the US failure to win the extremely cruel and senseless war in Indochina, despite the colossal investment in men and resources, the American people have lost the will and the desire to serve as the world's policeman. They have recognised that their power to impose their will on the rest of the world is not unlimited. Simultaneously, through purges Chairman Mao Tse-tung [Mao Zedong] has got rid of colleagues who were ready to make common cause with the Soviet Union against the United States.

Nixon's visit was followed by a visit by President Ford in 1976, and a visit to the USA in 1979 by Deng Xiaoping, Mao's successor as the dominant leader in China. In 1979 the USA finally formally recognised the People's Republic of China, even though it also committed itself to continued support for Taiwan.

The impact of China's economic liberalisation on relations with the rest of the world since Mao's death until the present

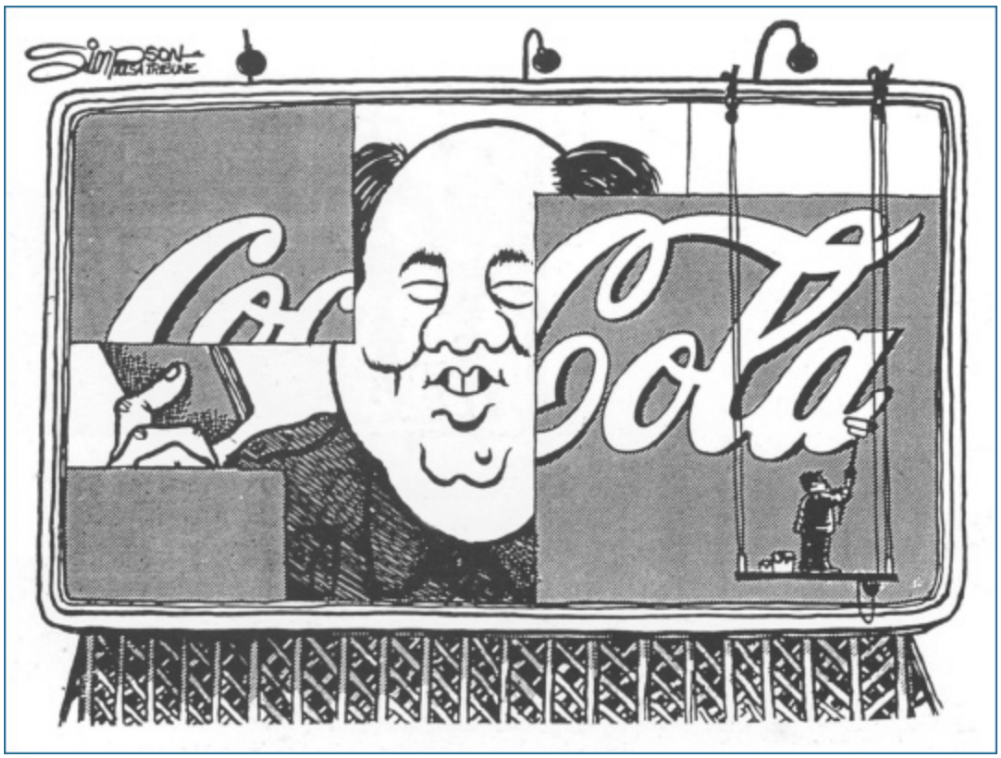
Shortly after Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping emerged as the leader of China. He was the leader of a group who wanted to reform the Chinese economy by adapting (not abandoning) some of the strict centralised controls associated with communism. This mixture of capitalist incentives with reduced communist controls (like allowing foreign investment, and allowing small businesses to be privately owned and people to work to make a profit) is sometimes referred to as 'market Leninism'.

As a result of these reforms, by the 1980s China's economy was booming. The standard of living of millions of Chinese improved, and China later became the largest market in the world for material goods such as TV sets, cell phones, and cars, as well as for luxury goods. A key factor in creating this boom was China's willingness to open up to foreign trade and investment. Special economic zones (called SEZs) were established, with low taxes and other incentives, to encourage the production of goods for export as well as foreign investment. Many international companies switched to manufacturing their products in China because it had a huge labour force and few labour regulations.

However, in spite of its willingness to allow capitalist economic practices, the Chinese government was not prepared to allow democratic reforms. This was clearly demonstrated in 1989 when the government ordered troops to crush student protestors in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Although the outside world was shocked by the brutality of the crackdown, it did not stop their eagerness to trade with and invest in China's booming economy.

The dramatic industrial growth in China led to a massive demand for raw materials and resources. As a result, China began to invest heavily in other parts of the world, especially Africa, to get access to products such as coal, oil, and other mineral resources.

Source R *This cartoon gives an interpretation of change in China in the 1980s. It shows a Coca Cola billboard (which represents capitalist investment) replacing one showing Mao (who represents a single-party dictatorship and communist centralised control). It was drawn by an American cartoonist and published in an American newspaper,* The Tulsa Tribute, *in 1987.*



One measure of China's increasing influence in the world is its position as a leading member of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). This is an economic grouping formed by the leading **emerging economies**. They are all countries which have large economies and significant influence on regional and global affairs.

New word
emerging economies countries whose economies are starting to develop and industrialise

Source S *This is a well-known photograph of an anonymous lone protestor, who temporarily stopped the advance of Chinese Government tanks. The tanks were going to disperse protestors in Tiananmen Square, Beijing on 5 June 1989. The identity of the man was not recorded and remains unknown.*

Activity 9: (pairs) Analyse the changing relations between China and the USA

Use the text to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise:

1 Identify the actions taken by the USA in SE Asia in the 1950s and 1960s that made China suspicious of the USA in the 1950s and 1960s. (3×1) (3)
2 Write a paragraph in which you describe Deng Xiaoping's economic and political approach. (6×1) (6)
3 Use the text and Source Q to explain why relations between China and the USA changed in the 1970s. (4×2) (8)
4 Interpret the ways in which Sources R and S reflect the policies carried out in China under Deng Xiaoping. (2×3) (6)
5 Analyse the impact Deng Xiaoping's policies made in China. (4×2) (8)

Practice essays

(These essays could be used as the formal assessment for the first term essay mark.)
In the exam this section of work will be tested as an essay question. Therefore it is a good idea to practise writing each of these essay questions:

1 Discuss the purpose and events of the Cultural Revolution and explain why this made the West more fearful of the Chinese communist government.
2 Discuss the changing relations between China and the United States between 1950 and the 1970s.
3 China's relations with its neighbouring states included co-operation and conflict. Discuss why this was the case, using the examples of Tibet and India.

UNIT 1.3	The extension of the Cold War: Vietnam **How was a small country like Vietnam able to win a war against the USA?**

One of the major conflicts of the Cold War took place in Vietnam, when the United States intervened in a civil war to prevent a communist government from coming to power. This war lasted for over ten years until 1975, when the United States was defeated and was forced to withdraw. In this unit you will learn why the war took place and how a small country like Vietnam was able to defeat the USA.

An overview of the struggle against colonial powers before the Second World War

Before the Second World War, many parts of Asia consisted of colonies under the control of European powers:

- The Dutch controlled the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia).
- The British had colonies in India, (now India, Pakistan and Bangladesh), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Burma (Myanmar), Malaya (Malaysia), Singapore and Hong Kong.
- The French controlled a large area called Indochina, which included Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.
- The Philippines were a virtual American colony.

A map showing European colonies in south-east Asia in 1939

In many of these colonies, colonial rule was very unpopular but it was only in India that a strong **nationalist movement** emerged demanding independence before the Second World War. By 1939 the British had virtually accepted that India should become independent. However, to the anger of Indian nationalists the outbreak of war delayed this step. In other Asian colonies smaller nationalist movements hoped that the outbreak of war in Europe would provide them with an opportunity to gain their freedom from colonial rule.

Key word

nationalist movement
an organised political group fighting for the country's independence

During the war, much of south-east Asia was occupied by Japan, Germany's ally in the Second World War. The European colonial powers, themselves under threat from Nazi Germany in Europe, were unable to defend their empires. The Japanese said they were coming as **liberators** from European colonial control, and they attempted to make alliances with local nationalists in areas such as Malaya, Burma and Indonesia. But they treated these regions like colonies of their own. Their occupation was extremely harsh and they used the Asian colonies as sources of raw materials and labour for the Japanese war effort.

Vietnam as a French colony

Under French rule, Vietnam had become one of the major rice-producing countries in the world. However, most of the Vietnamese people were **sharecroppers** on the vast estates owned by the French, and they did not share in the profits gained from rice exports. They had to pay high taxes to support the costs of the French army and administration.

New words

liberators
those who set people free

sharecroppers
peasant farmers who pay a share of their crop to the landlord

Many Vietnamese were opposed to French political and economic control of their country. They also resented the growing influence of the French language, culture and religion. Although most Vietnamese people were Buddhist, by the 1930s, about 10% of them had adopted Christianity as a result of the work of French missionaries. There was little strong political opposition to French rule and the most popular movements in Vietnam before the war were religious movements supporting a revival of traditional Vietnamese religious and cultural values.

During the Second World War, Vietnam was occupied by Japan, who seized the country's main resources, namely rice, rubber and coal. A strong anti-Japanese resistance movement developed called the Viet Minh (the League for the Independence of Vietnam). The Viet Minh was established in 1941 as a front organisation of the Indochina Communist Party (ICP). It was led by Ho Chi Minh, who had lived in exile from Vietnam since 1911. However, as the representative of the **Comintern** for south-east Asia during the 1920s and 1930s, Ho Chi Minh maintained contact with the ICP. During the war the Viet Minh made plans to seize power once the Japanese had been defeated.

Key word

Comintern
organisation set up in the USSR after the 1917 revolution to spread communism internationally

The immediate post-war period

Within days of the Japanese surrender in 1945, Viet Minh forces seized control of most of northern and central Vietnam. There was less support for them in the south. On 2 September, 1945, when the Japanese withdrew, they declared the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with Ho as president.

Source A *An extract from the speech made by Ho Chi Minh declaring Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 2 September 1945. The speech starts with Ho Chi Minh referring to the words in the American constitution.*

All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable [unchangeable] rights; among these are life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Those are undeniable truths …

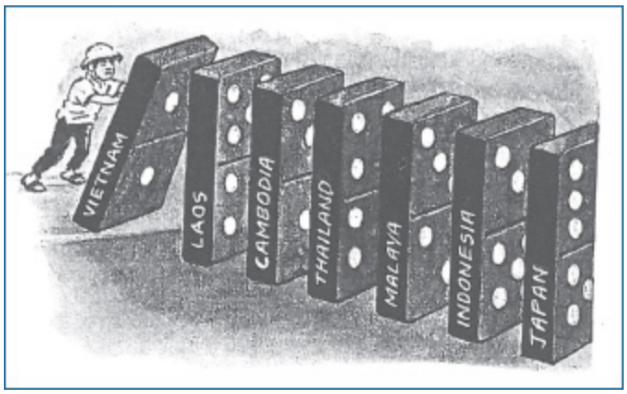
The French have fled, the Japanese have capitulated. Our people have broken the chains which for nearly a century have bound us, and have won independence for the Fatherland. The whole Vietnamese people, animated by a common purpose, are determined to fight to the bitter end against any attempt by the French colonists to re-conquer our country. We are convinced that the Allied nations, led by America, Britain and the Soviet Union have acknowledged the principles of self-determination and the equality of nations … and will not refuse to acknowledge the independence of Vietnam … The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilise all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property, in order to safeguard their independence and freedom.

War between the Viet Minh and the French

After the Second World War there was stronger nationalist opposition to the reestablishment of European colonial rule in places such as India and the Dutch East Indies. As a result the British and the Dutch eventually made plans to grant independence to their Asian colonies. The French, however, wanted to re-establish their control in Indochina. This decision led to war between France and the Viet Minh for control of Vietnam. When this war started in December 1946, it seemed as though the French had the key strategic positions under their control. But the Viet Minh were preparing for an underground 'people's war'. They educated and organised the local population to support them in a long guerrilla campaign.

Source B *The Viet Minh treated the peasants fairly. Like the Communist troops under Mao, they were given strict rules about how to treat the people. These rules are listed here. If they wanted to win in their fight against the French, getting the support of the peasants was essential. In comparison to the Viet Minh, the French troops often mistreated them.*

1 Be polite.
2 Be fair.
3 Return anything borrowed.
4 Pay for anything damaged.
5 Do not bully.
6 Do not damage crops.
7 Do not flirt with women.
8 Do not ill-treat prisoners.



American policy in South East Asia was based on the 'Domino Theory'. The Americans were convinced that the Soviet Union and China wanted to spread communism throughout Asia. They thought that if Vietnam became communist, then Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and other Asian countries would fall to the communists, just like a row of dominoes. So they were determined to resist the spread of communism in Vietnam.

At first the USA was fairly sympathetic to the Viet Minh's fight against colonial rule, but this attitude changed after 1949, when a communist government came to power in China. When the Chinese, and later the USSR too, began to supply aid to the Viet Minh, the USA believed that this was part of a communist plot to take over the whole of south-east Asia. So the US government supported the French war effort with huge sums of money, although the Americans themselves did not become actively involved in the war at this stage. This was in line with the US policy of containment in Europe at the time. American policy was also influenced by the '**Domino Theory**', the belief that if one country in south-east Asia became communist, the others would follow in quick succession, like a line of falling dominoes.

Key word

Domino Theory
the belief that if one country in southeast Asia became communist, the others would follow in quick succession, like a line of falling dominoes

In 1954, the well-equipped French army was decisively beaten at Dien Bien Phu by Viet Minh guerril-

las. After a 167 day siege, the French army was forced to surrender. Only 3 000 French soldiers survived out of a force of 16 000. France was forced to accept this humiliating defeat. At the Geneva peace conference in 1954, France agreed to withdraw from Indochina completely and to recognise the independence of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

1957–1965: The struggle between the South Vietnamese army and the Viet Cong

At the Geneva conference it was decided that Vietnam would be divided into two countries – a communist North Vietnam and a non-communist South Vietnam – and that elections would be held in 1956 to decide their future.

The Democratic Republic of North Vietnam

The communist Viet Minh government of Ho Chi Minh ruled the north of the country from its capital, Hanoi. In a popular programme of land reform, large estates were broken up and distributed among the peasants. Later these were formed into collective farms, and industries were nationalised. Great attempts were made to improve education. Effective government propaganda appealed to Vietnamese peasants living in South Vietnam. However, harsh measures were taken against landlords and others who opposed the reforms, and large numbers of Catholics fled to South Vietnam to escape **persecution** in the north.

New word
persecution ill-treatment of people because of race, religion or some other factor

Source C *This is an extract from Joseph Alsop's article on life in North Vietnam after 1945. Alsop was an American journalist and this article was published in the* New Yorker *magazine in 1955.*

> At first it was difficult for me, as it is for any Westerner, to conceive of a communist government's genuinely 'serving the people'. I could hardly imagine a communist government that was also a popular government … But this is just the sort of government the state actually was while the struggle with the French continued. The Viet Minh could not possibly have carried on the resistance for one year, let alone nine years, without the people's strong and united support.

In spite of the American government's belief that the North Vietnamese government was controlled by China or the USSR, and that Ho had seized control with their support, this was not the case. He had built up support among the peasants in the long struggle against the Japanese during the Second World War.

Ho Chi Minh was the leader of communist North Vietnam. He fought for independence against the Japanese, the French and finally the Americans. Propaganda photographs often showed him with children to give the impression that he was the father of all the people.

Activity 1: (individual) Understand the background to the Vietnam War and the role of Ho Chi Minh

Use the text to answer questions 1, 2 and 4.

1 Explain how the Japanese advance through south-east Asia during the Second World War affected the region and Vietnam in particular.
2 Explain why the fight for independence was not over once the Japanese had been defeated. (5×2) (10) (4×1) (4)
3 Study Source A and discuss how Ho Chi Minh hoped to gain support from the war-time Allies for the newly independent Vietnam. (4×1) (4)
4 Explain why and how American policy towards the Viet Minh changed. (Make sure you use the words 'containment' and 'Domino Theory' in your answer.) (4×2) (8)
5 Use Sources A, B and C to explain in a paragraph why the Viet Minh were successful in defeating the French. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 5.

The Republic of South Vietnam

In the southern part of Vietnam, the anti-communist Ngo Dinh Diem set up the Republic of South Vietnam, with its capital at Saigon. Diem's government was oppressive and corrupt. His secret police used **detention** and torture to stamp out opposition. Diem failed to introduce badly needed land reforms, and 70% of the population owned only 13% of the land. He supported the landlords against the peasants, and rents were raised to even higher levels than they had been under the French. Diem also appointed members of his own family to important positions. He was a Christian in a country which was 90% Buddhist, and he angered Buddhists by showing little respect for their religion.

New word

detention
to be put in jail without a trial; often done to political opponents of the state

Although the US government was aware that Diem was unpopular, it supported him because he was strongly anti-communist. The USA prevented the elections which had been planned at Geneva from tak-

ing place in the south, as the Americans suspected that the communists would win, and Ho Chi Minh would become leader of the whole of Vietnam.

The formation of the Viet Cong

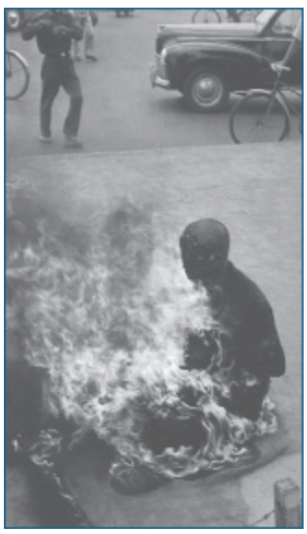
By the late 1950s, opposition to Diem's government in South Vietnam had grown. More and more peasants began to support the communists, who became known from the late 1950s as the Viet Cong (an abbreviation for Viet Nam Cong-San, meaning Vietnamese communist). In 1960 the Viet Cong formed the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam. This was a communist resistance group supported by North Vietnam, but 80–90% of its members were from South Vietnam. Its main aim was to reunify Vietnam. The Viet Cong fought a guerrilla war against Diem's government. They received arms and supplies from North Vietnam, which were smuggled through the jungle along the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

Diem's government began to rely more and more on economic and military aid from the USA, including military 'advisors'. At the same time, North Vietnam was receiving economic aid and military assistance from China and the USSR. As tension between North and South Vietnam increased, the USA became more heavily involved, especially after the Viet Cong began to attack American supply bases.

Matters in South Vietnam reached a crisis point in 1963. Student protests were held and several Buddhist monks burnt themselves to death in public protest against the harshness of the Diem regime and its treatment of Buddhists. Diem's response was to impose **martial law** and detain large numbers of protesters. Even though Diem was overthrown and killed in a coup by army generals in November 1963, there was little change in government policies, and support for the Viet Cong continued to grow in opposition to the South Vietnamese government.

Key word
martial law when the army is given special powers of control

Although the US President, John Kennedy, sent military 'advisors' to help the South Vietnamese government, he was not prepared to commit the USA to further involvement in the war. This policy changed after Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, and Johnson succeeded him as president.



Diem's religious discrimination and government was so bad that a number of Buddhist monks, like this one, publicly set themselves on fire as a form of protest. This image horrified people around the world and highlighted the lack of support that Diem had from the Vietnamese peo-

ple.

Source D *The US Defence Secretary, Robert McNamara, explains why he supported America sending troops to Vietnam, 1964. In this extract, he refers to Hanoi, which is the capital of North Vietnam, and Peking [Beijing], which is the capital of China*.

> First is the simple fact that South Vietnam, a member of the free world family, is striving to preserve its independence from Communist attack. Second, South East Asia has great significance in the forward defence of the USA. For Hanoi, the immediate object is limited: conquest of the south and national unification. For Peking, however, Hanoi's victory would only be a first step towards eventual Chinese dominance of the two Vietnams and South East Asia and towards exploitation of the new strategy in other parts of the world.

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

In August 1964, the US government accused North Vietnamese patrol boats of firing on US warships in the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of North Vietnam. The US acted swiftly: the US Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution which gave the president the right to take whatever steps he felt necessary to 'prevent further aggression'. This gave Johnson the right to commit the US to a full-scale war in Vietnam. This became known as the Vietnam War. The Vietnamese call it the American War. Some historians refer to it as the Second Indochina War.

Activity 2: (pairs) Identify the causes of the Vietnam War

Use the text to answer these questions:

1 List the causes of the Vietnam War, starting from 1945. (8×2) (16)

2 Many people have criticised the Americans for being hypocritical as they claimed that they wanted to protect the 'free world' and promote democracy, while at the same time they supported corrupt dictatorships to do this. Select information in Source D and use the concept of the Domino Theory to give the American perspective as to why they thought this was necessary. (3×2) (6)

3 After reading the text, explain why Diem was so unpopular. (4×2) (8)

1965–69: The Vietnam War

Between 1965 and 1969, the US was heavily involved in the war in Vietnam. Here the US fought in support of the South Vietnamese government and against the Viet Cong, who were supported by North Vietnam.

American involvement in the war

In 1965, the first American combat troops (active soldiers rather than military 'advisors') arrived in Vietnam. Each year the number of troops **conscripted** to fight in Vietnam continued to grow until by 1968, over half a million American troops were fighting there. Australia and New Zealand also sent troops in an attempt to stop a communist takeover.

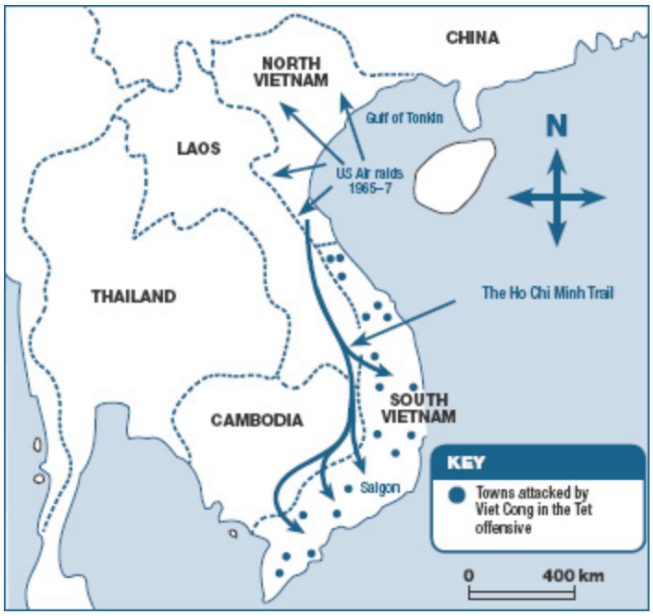
Between 1965 and 1972, the US airforce launched a massive bombing campaign, known as Operation Rolling Thunder. They bombed the Ho Chi Minh trail to try to stop the supply of weapons from North Vietnam. They used a **defoliant** called Agent Orange to destroy the vegetation which hid the supply

routes, causing lasting environmental damage. They also bombed 'strategic targets' in North Vietnam causing large numbers of civilian deaths and a great deal of damage to towns, cities and infrastructure. They bombed sites in Laos and Cambodia as well since the US believed that they were providing the North Vietnamese with refuge and supplies.

New words

conscription
forced service in the army

defoliant
chemicals sprayed from aircraft to destroy vegetation



In Operation Rolling Thunder, towns and cities in North Vietnam were bombed, as well as sites in Laos and Cambodia, along the Ho Chi Minh trail. This was a trail through the jungles of South East Asia along which supplies from North Vietnam were sent to supply the Viet Cong. The Americans dropped more bombs on North Vietnam than the total number of bombs used against Germany and Japan during the Second World War.

The average age of the US troops in Vietnam was 19 and 21% of them were African Ameri-

cans. The soldiers were often transported to the war zones by helicopter. The helicopters were also used to fly the injured troops out as well as used for reconnaissance. For many people, the helicopters are the best known symbol of this war.

Source E *The tactics used by the Americans were particularly damaging to the civilian population. This photograph shows the burn damage caused by* ***napalm*** *bombs. Napalm is very sticky, and when the bombs exploded the flames stuck to people's skin. Long-term damage was caused from the toxins of the Agent Orange defoliant. It later led to the deaths of many people from cancer. It also contaminated the soil and water supplies for decades which stopped effective food production.*

New word

napalm
chemicals used in bombs which burnt the skin of victims causing immense suffering

American involvement also caused severe suffering in South Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands of villagers were forcibly moved to fortified villages (known as the Strategic Hamlet Programme), in an unsuccessful attempt to cut off support for the Viet Cong. Many villages were burned and civilians killed in the process. American attempts to win the 'hearts and minds' of the Vietnamese people were a failure.

The nature of the Vietnamese struggle against the USA

The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese received arms and equipment from the USSR and, to a lesser extent, China, but they were vastly outnumbered by the Americans and their South Vietnamese allies. The Viet Cong could not match the vast quantities of up-to-date modern weapons which the US poured into Vietnam. But Ho Chi Minh firmly believed that a superior army could be defeated by guerrilla tactics.

Source F *From a letter written by Ho Chi Minh to US president Lyndon Johnson in 1967*

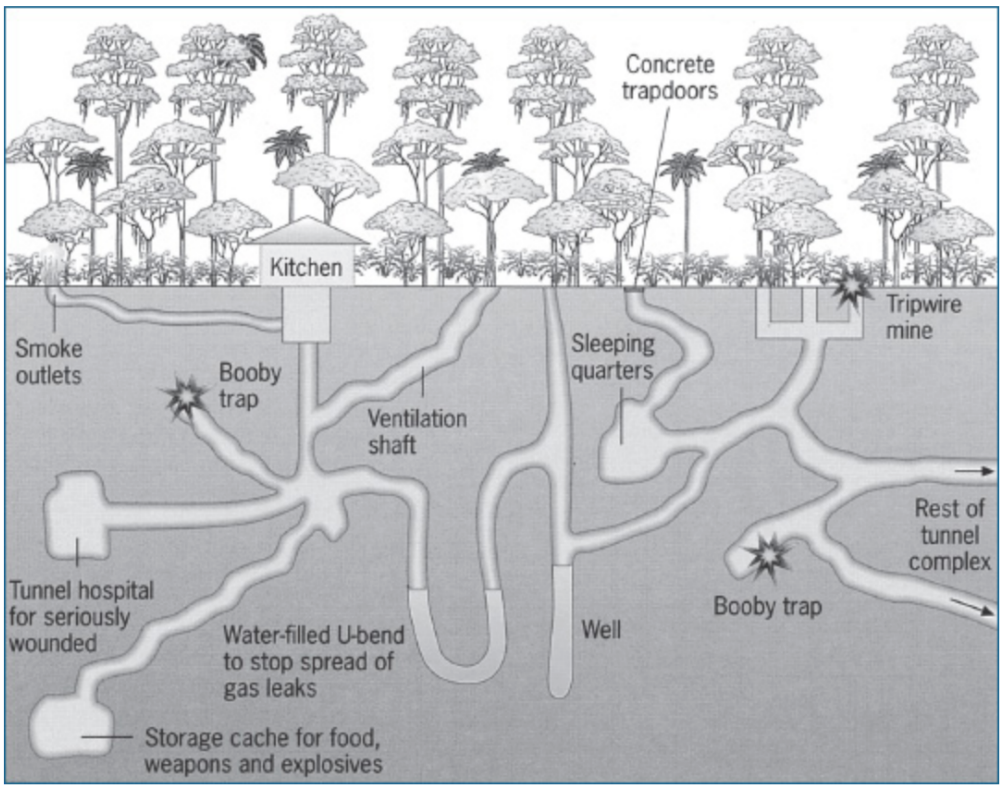
> Vietnam is thousands of miles from the USA … The US government has committed war crimes … Half a million US troops have resorted to inhuman weapons … Napalm, toxic chemicals and gases have been used to massacre our people, destroy our crops and raze our villages to the ground … US aircraft have dropped thousands of bombs destroying towns, villages, hospitals, schools. We will never submit to force, never accept talks under threat of bombs.

The Viet Cong operated in small groups, they did not wear uniforms and carried few weapons. They improvised by making booby traps out of bamboo and other local materials to use against the American soldiers. They launched surprise attacks on American patrols and then seemed to disappear into the jungle. The Americans found it difficult to identify them among the peasants working in the fields.

To avoid the effects of US bombing raids on their supply routes, the Viet Cong built a network of underground tunnels, with sleeping quarters, makeshift hospitals, and food, weapons and water supplies. From here they could make quick hit-andrun attacks. The American soldiers began to live in fear of the **ambushes** and booby traps set up by the Viet Cong, and their morale began to fall.

New word
ambush a sudden attack from a hidden position

Source G *The tunnels were dug by hand and descend as far as 40 metres. Some areas were about 1 metre high, while others were enlarged to make room to cook, make weapons, care for the sick and live for long periods of time undetected by enemy troops above ground.*



Source H *From an article published by Reuters, a British news agency, found on* http://www.msnbc.com/news/995684.asp?0sl=-11&cpl=1

Despite the raids by B-52 bombers, sniffer dogs, sending in soldiers known as 'tunnel rats' and defoliating vast areas of jungle, the Americans and their allies failed to root out the Viet Cong.

Source I *An article on the tunnels by Joe Havely written for BBC News*

War is hellish at the best of times. But imagine fighting a war underground in the suffocating, sweltering blackness of tunnels, barely tall enough for a man to crawl, let alone walk. Here a wrong turn could send you plunging onto bamboo spikes of a *punji* stake trap. Elsewhere carefully placed trip wires were primed to detonate a grenade or release a box of scorpions onto their unsuspecting victim.

The turning point: The Tet Offensive

In January 1968, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched a surprise attack on the towns and cities of South Vietnam. It was timed to coincide with Tet, the Vietnamese New Year, when an attack was not expected. They even entered the heart of Saigon and attacked the American embassy. The offensive took the Americans and South Vietnamese government completely by surprise.

However, the attack was extremely costly for the Viet Cong. Historians estimate that as many as 40 000 to 50 000 of them were killed in the offensive, and they were forced to withdraw from the urban areas they had occupied. But although the Americans and South Vietnamese had managed to fight back and avoid defeat, their confidence was shaken. The Tet Offensive had an extremely negative impact on public opinion in the USA. Many Americans became convinced that their country was losing the war and there was increased pressure on the US government to withdraw.

So the Tet Offensive was an important turning point. Even though Viet Cong losses were very high, it was in many ways a victory for them as the US commitment to the war changed after that.

Activity 3: (groups) Analyse the nature of warfare in Vietnam

1 Write a paragraph to explain what guerrilla tactics the Viet Cong used? Include an explanation of why the Americans, with all their military might, found it hard to defeat them. Read the text, and refer to Sources G and I in your answer. (10)

2 Use Sources E and F to answer these questions. Explain:
   a) What strategies the Americans used to counter the guerrillas. (3×2) (6)
   b) What effects did these strategies have on the local population? (4×2) (8)

3 Give your opinion: Is it accurate, in relation to the Tet Offensive, to say that 'America and South Vietnam won the battle but lost the war'? Give reasons for your answer. (4×1) (4)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 1.

The war from a Vietnamese and a US perspective

In history there is always more than one point of view to any event. It is therefore important to understand this war from both the Vietnamese (and the communist world) and the American perspectives.

The Vietnamese perspective

To many Vietnamese the Viet Cong were a nationalist rather than a communist movement. They viewed the war as a struggle for national liberation. The USA had supported the French in their colonial war against the Vietminh. Now they were supporting an undemocratic government. As a result the Vietnamese resented the interference by the USA in their country, and the destruction of their countryside and the economy.

The war had a devastating effect on Vietnam. The Americans used chemical warfare which destroyed millions of hectares of jungle and farmland, and the animals living there. Over five million villagers were forced to flee from their homes as a result of American attempts to find and destroy the Viet Cong. Large numbers of civilians were killed or injured when they got caught up in the fighting. It took decades before Vietnam even began to recover from the war.

However, some South Vietnamese benefited from the US presence, particularly government officials and the leaders of the South Vietnamese army. Many middle class Vietnamese, especially in Saigon, supported the USA as they feared a communist takeover of the whole of Vietnam.

This photograph shows American soldiers withdrawing from a Vietnamese village that they have set alight. Thousands of villages were destroyed like this because Viet Cong guerrillas used the villages to get shelter, food and supplies. The American forces also found it very hard to differentiate the guerrilla fighters from the civilians. The Americans hoped that by destroying the villages, the guerrillas' supply lines and cover would be broken.

The American perspective

At first, many Americans supported their government's decision to become involved in Vietnam. They were influenced by Cold War propaganda that the USA was fighting to stop the spread of communism which threatened to take over the world.

However, this attitude began to change after the US government introduced conscription and more and more troops were drafted to fight in Vietnam. As the number of American casualties began to rise, there was growing opposition to the draft and to the war itself. People started to question why America was spending so much money on a war which they seemed unable to win when poverty at home was a growing problem. Through extensive media coverage (this was the first war that had a television audience) people saw the destruction and suffering that the war was causing in Vietnam. Scenes of injured children, terrified villagers, fleeing refugees and wounded American soldiers had a huge effect on people. Some worried about the negative impact of the war on American relations with the rest of the world.

In 1965, 25 000 people attended a rally in Washington DC to protest against what they believed was an unjust and unnecessary war. In the next few years, thousands more protestors took part in anti-war marches around the country. In 1969, more than 250 000 joined a massive anti-war demonstration in the capital. Some men refused to go and fight, and became 'draft dodgers'. There were protests too from army **veterans** who had fought in Vietnam.

New word
veterans former soldiers

This photograph was taken in Vietnam on 8 June 1972. It shows the impact of napalm bombing and when it was published in America, it increased anti-war feelings there. The children are running away from their burning homes. Some of them have stripped off their burning clothes. The girl in the centre is ten-year old Phan Thi Kim Phuc who ran for about a kilometre before being taken to hospital. She suffered from burns on her neck, back and arms. It took two years of plastic surgery operations for her to recover. The photograph was taken by Nguyen Kong Ut, who later won the Pulitzer Prize (one of the highest awards in photo-journalism in the world) for it.

The war as a world issue

Attitudes towards the USA

The war was a propaganda disaster for the US government. People around the world (including people in the USA itself) were horrified by evidence of brutal American tactics. Anti-Vietnam War protests were held in many countries as anger mounted against American actions in the war. These protests formed an important part of the widespread student protests that were held in many countries in 1968 – in France, Italy, West Germany, Japan and others. Australians, too, protested against the war in Vietnam, where thousands of Australian soldiers faught alongside the Americans.

The USA was criticised for using chemical weapons such as Agent Orange and napalm. People were angered too by the large number of civilian deaths and the American bombing of North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Many considered that the USA was guilty of war crimes for actions such as the My Lai massacre. In March 1968, in the village of My Lai, a group of American soldiers killed between 300 and 400 civilians, mainly old people, women and children. When the officer in charge, Lieutenant Calley, was put on trial and charged with mass murder, he claimed that he was acting under orders. Although the US army denied this, many people suspected that official attitudes towards Vietnamese civilians allowed such incidents.

Source J *From Lieutenant Calley's account of the events at My Lai*, Body Count, *published in 1970*

> We were not in My Lai to kill human beings really. We were there to kill ideology that is carried by – I don't know – pawns. Blobs. Pieces of flesh. And I wasn't in My Lai to destroy intelligent men. I was there to destroy an intangible idea. To destroy Communism.

Source K *The American policy failed in Vietnam, as this American civilian from the time explains. (Quoted in* Ben Walsh Modern World History, *John Murray, 2004, page 360)*

> One does not use napalm on villages and hamlets sheltering civilians if one is attempting to persuade these people of the rightness of one's cause. One does not defoliate the country and deform its people with chemicals to persuade them of the foe's evil nature.

Activity 4: (groups) Identify and assess bias

Use the text to answer questions 1 to 3.

1 What would the Vietnamese have thought about the tactics the Americans used? (2×4) (8)
2 Why did some Vietnamese people support American intervention? (2×1) (2)
3 How did American people's views of the war change and what were the causes of the change in their attitudes? (4×2) (8)

Read the Skills Support information on 'How to know whether a source is biased or neutral' that follows and then answer these questions.

4 a) Explain what a war of 'national liberation' means. (1×2) (2)
b) How did the Vietnamese view the American actions in this regard?
5 Sources J and K are both made by Americans. Explain in a paragraph what each is saying and why their arguments are so different. (1×1) (1) (10)
6 Write a diary entry showing the attitude of a Viet Cong supporter to America's involvement in Vietnam. (10)
7 Compare Sources C and D. Which one seems more neutral and why? (2×3) (6)
8 Compare Sources D and F. What do they have in common and why? (2×2) (4)
9 Do a role play as if you are American soldiers in Vietnam. Try to show the different attitudes they would have to the war. (N/A)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for questions 5 and 6.

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to know whether a source is biased or neutral

Bias can be found in most sources whether they are written or visual, primary or secondary. The table below summarises the key points to look out for when analysing whether a source is biased.

A source is biased when	A source is neutral when
The words used contain emotion (They are emotive.) For example: 'The brave freedom fighters' or 'the desperate peasants.'	The words are neutral; they do not show emotion. For example: 'The Americans sent troops to Vietnam.'
The facts selected give information from one side of the argument only. Other facts or arguments are left out.	The facts selected give information from different sides of the argument. The account is factually balanced.
The person who made the source wants to put across a particular point of view.	The person who made the source wants to put across an objective account. That is, the source includes a range of perspectives.
The person who made the source wants to make sure that the reader sides with the perspective he or she is presenting.	The person who made the source sets out the various arguments and wants the reader to make up his or her own mind.
The person who made the source has reason to be one sided. That is, he or she is subjectively involved.	The person who made the source is an objective commentator.

The impact of the war on Cold War politics

The Vietnam War had an impact on the position of the USA in the world. The strongest military power in the world was unable to defeat a guerrilla army. When the USA decided to withdraw from Vietnam, it was seen as a humiliating defeat for the superpower.

The USA failed to stop the spread of communism in Asia. In fact, American actions had the opposite effect: the people of Laos and Cambodia were angry about US bombing raids in their countries and gave their support to communist groups instead. Communist government came to power in both countries. So, ironically, US actions set in motion the 'Domino Effect'.

Source L *This source explains why American policies failed in Vietnam. (From Richard Edwards*, The Vietnam War, *Wayland, Hove, 1986, pages 65–66)*

America had been involved in a war in a country whose society and culture she did not understand. Decisions were taken in the expectation that the Vietnamese would respond in a similar manner to Americans. In this, they were disappointed. American policy continually failed, as with the Strategic Hamlet Programme, because they did not foresee how the Vietnamese people would react. The Americans largely made their own disaster in Vietnam …

The war does provide some lessons for American policy makers. In Vietnam, they faced a Communist-led nationalist movement. To regard it merely as an instance of Communist aggression and expansionism was to simplify seriously and confuse the situation. Ho Chi Minh was a pragmatist and had wanted good relations with America. When they were not forthcoming, the Viet Minh was forced to become more reliant on the Communist bloc for support. Similarly the American reliance on superior firepower to win the war, with material support for the brutal regimes of the South, led many nationalists into the Communist camp; the only body organised to fight for independence. Supporting dictatorships in defence of some notion of the 'free world' produced hostility among the Vietnamese and did little to maintain the confidence of America's Western Alliance partners. The simplistic notions of Cold War confrontation underpinned American policy towards Vietnam and in many ways, undermined its ability to analyse realistically the emergence of Vietnam from colonial rule to national independence.

Source M *Throughout the Cold War, and in Vietnam, the Americans assumed that their system of democratic capitalism would be what all nations wanted if they had the choice. This cartoon shows this was not the case. Rather than democracy spreading through South East Asia, communist governments spread to the whole of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. It was only in the 1990s that more market-oriented systems emerged in these countries, although Vietnam and Laos are still officially socialist states. This cartoon was drawn by Dennis Harper and published in the radical underground newspaper*, Dallas Notes, *in the 1970s*. Dallas Notes *claimed to 'serve the proletariat'.*

IT'S STAIN-RESISTANT, SOIL-PROOF, SHRINK-PROOF, COLOR-FAST, WARM IN WINTER, COOL IN SUMMER AND APPROPRIATE FOR CHURCH, SCHOOL, AND FOOTBALL GAMES.
IT DON'T FIT.

Their failure in Vietnam affected American policy towards the communist states. After the war, the USA tried to improve relations with China. They stopped blocking China's membership of the United Nations, American presidents visited China, and the two countries established formal diplomatic ties. Relations between the USA and Soviet Union also improved during the 1970s.

1969–75: US withdrawal from Vietnam

In spite of the vastly superior resources and weapons of the Americans, they were unable to defeat the Viet Cong. By 1968, public opinion in the USA was increasingly critical of America's involvement. (You will learn more about the anti-war protests in Topic 3.) Many of the protestors blamed President Johnson for the situation. In 1968 he announced that he would not be standing for re-election in the forthcoming presidential elections.

In November 1968, the Republican candidate Richard Nixon was elected president. He looked for a way of withdrawing from Vietnam without it looking like a victory for the communists. He called his policy Vietnamisation, which meant handing over responsibility for the war to the South Vietnamese army. He started bringing back American troops, but at the same time promising aid to South Vietnam so that it could defend itself. While the American troops were withdrawing, the USA resumed its bombing campaign in North Vietnam.

The last American troops left Vietnam in 1973. In spite of Nixon's promise of financial aid and military support to South Vietnam, this did not happen. As a result, Saigon fell to communist forces in April 1975, and North and South Vietnam were united under a communist government. Saigon was re-named Ho Chi Minh City.

Source N *This source from http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/vietnam.htm focuses on the financial costs of the war for America. It does not mention the 58 000 US soldiers who died and the 300 000 soldiers who were injured, of whom almost a third were to remain quadriplegics or had limbs amputated. Thousands suffered from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and were psychologically damaged by their experiences in the war. Many struggled to overcome drug addiction*.

America's involvement in Vietnam ended in 1973. The war had cost her one billion dollars a day at its peak; she had dropped 7 million tons of bombs – more than the entire total of all participants in World War Two. The cost of the war in 1968 alone was $88 000 million while the combined spending on education, health and housing in that year was $24 000 million.

The ceasefire lasted no time at all and the North attacked what was left of the South's army. By April 1975, Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam had fallen. It was re-named Ho Chi Minh City and a united Vietnam came into being.

Source O *Andrew Weist summarises the cost to the Vietnamese people of all the wars in their country in his book* The Vietnam War 1956–1975, *Osprey Publishing, Wellingburough, 2002, page 85–6*.

The forces of North Vietnam and the Viet Cong suffered the worst losing 1.1 million dead and 600 000 wounded during the fighting. In addition 330 000 communist fighters remain missing in action. Civilian deaths during American involvement in the Vietnam War are difficult to assess but run in excess of one million. In addition concurrent fighting and revolutionary atrocities in Laos and Cambodia led to deaths of a further two million people. Thus during the conflicts in and around Vietnam that ended in 1975 nearly 5 000 000 people perished. That number, though, does not adequately express the cost of the war – for each fatality represents the agonizing grief of countless loved ones and friends.

The victorious Vietnamese communists inherited a country that had been ravaged by 30 years of constant warfare. The infrastructure of the nation lay in ruins and millions of refugees wandered the battered countryside. More numbers put a human face on Vietnam's suffering. In 1975 Vietnam contained 200 000 prostitutes, 879 000 orphans, 200 000 disabled people and one million war widows.

Activity 5: (individual) Synthesise the information on the impact of the Vietnam War on the USA as a superpower

Use the text to answer questions 1, 2 and 4.

1 How did US actions in south-east Asia set in motion the 'Domino Effect'? (2×1) (2)

2 Why did the US failure in Vietnam affect American prestige as a superpower? (3×1) (3)

3 Sources L, N and O are all secondary sources. (This means they were made long after the topic you are studying, the Vietnam War.) Which of the three do you think is the least biased? Explain your choice. (3×2) (6)

4 a) Explain what the policy of 'Vietnamisation' was. (2×1) (2)

b) How did 'Vietnamisation' lead to the capture of Saigon by North Vietnamese forces in 1975? (3×1) (3)

5 Summarise the arguments made in each paragraph of Source L. (2×3) (6)

6 Analyse what aspects of the information in Source L are accurately portrayed in Source M. Substantiate your analysis with details from the cartoon. (4×2) (8)

7 Write a paragraph that explains how failure in Vietnam affected the USA. Use the text and Sources L, N and O to help you with your analysis. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 7.

How is the war remembered today in the USA and Vietnam?

How the war is remembered in the USA

There are still mixed feelings about the Vietnam War in the US today. One view held by right-wing Americans is that their soldiers were betrayed by the anti-war protestors who undermined US efforts to defend democracy. An alternative view is that the US should never have been involved in the war at all, and that American actions in Vietnam undermined world opinion about the US.

In 1982 a memorial was erected in the centre of the US capital, Washington DC, designed by a young student, Maya Ying Lin. It was a long and sombre black marble wall engraved with the names of all the US casualties of the war. As visitors walk by it, they see themselves reflected in the marble.

This photograph shows people visiting the Vietnam Veteran's War Memorial in Washington DC. No commemoration in America mentions the millions of Vietnamese casualties.

How the war is remembered in Vietnam

In contrast to the ambivalent feelings about the war in the USA, in Vietnam the war is remembered today as a period of noble sacrifice of soldiers, workers and peasants. Memorials of the war commemorate the suffering of the Vietnamese people at the hands of the Americans.

At the same time, 'war tourism' makes big money, mainly from Western tourists, especially returning American soldiers and their families. There are several museums devoted to war sites, but the Cu Chi tunnels are one of the more popular sites. The Viet Cong used them to launch surprise attacks and to retreat without a trace. Visitors today can crawl through the tunnels, taste the food the guerrilla fighters ate, and see the booby traps, the bamboo stakes and weapons used during the war.

Another site at which the war is remembered is the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City (which used to be called the 'War Crimes' Museum). Visitors to the museum are shown the impact of Agent Orange and the massive bombing campaigns by the Americans. There are also exhibits to show conditions in the prison camps set up by the French, and later used by the Americans, to imprison their Vietnamese opponents. It also has an exhibition of photographs to illustrate the torture and death of Vietnamese as well as other exhibits to show the impact of the war on civilians, especially children. The City Museum in Ho Chi Minh City commemorates another aspect of the war. It has a giant mural of a tank bursting through the gates of Saigon to symbolise the fall of the South and the victory of the North in the war.

The Shrine of the Unknown Soldier is the most spectacular of the many monuments to the Viet Cong war dead. Completed in 1995 it is situated opposite the burial site of Ho Chi Minh, the hero of Vietnamese liberation from colonialism. His mausoleum can be seen in the distance.

The tiny size of the Cu Chi tunnels is shown when this tourist pops his head out of an escape tunnel. Chris Burn, a visiting American, said, 'They had brave hearts. I could barely stay down there for 10 minutes, let alone three years.'

Source P *The Vietnamese writer HueTam Ho Tai describes how tourism and commercialisation have now influenced the ways in which the sites of the Vietnam War are presented to the public. The pain of the war for local residents is overlooked. From HueTam Ho Tai*, The Country of Memory: Remaking the Past in Late Socialist Vietnam, *University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994, pages 13–14*

> Where once Vietnamese peasants were mobilised to repulse foreigners, now they are expected to welcome them. Visual reminders are in fact everywhere, but the pain has largely been anaesthetized. In the Cu Chi tunnels, tourists – including returning American veterans of the Vietnam War – are greeted by young men and women clad in the drab guise of Communist guerrillas who point out the spots where American B-52s [planes] rained bombs on the site and the underground chambers where the Tet Offensive, with its memorable attack on the American embassy, was plotted. In the compound's kitchen, visitors are invited to taste samples of the grim diet of tato roots and salt that guerrillas ate every day; in the souvenir shops, they are invited to purchase silver opium pipes or wooden Disney figures. Shell casings are made into souvenir tanks, empty soft drink cans into miniature helicopters. Commemorative sites such as these play a double function: as building blocks in the state's narrative of glorious war and triumphant revolution, and as fodder for entertainment.

For decades the Vietnamese communist government only allowed an heroic version of the war to be presented. Over time other versions have slowly emerged which show the hardships suffered by the soldiers. Today the Vietnamese government, although still socialist, encourages foreign investment into the country. With the collapse of the communist world and increasing American investment and market-related reforms, Americans and Vietnamese are starting to come to terms with their violent, shared history.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Use Source P and the text and discuss the various ways in which the Vietnam War has been commemorated. Then discuss how tourism affects the ways in which the past is commemorated.

Practice essays

1 Explain the causes of the Vietnam War, showing how it became part of the Cold War confrontation.
2 'It was the civilian population and the ordinary soldiers who suffered the most during the Vietnam War.' Discuss.
3 The Vietnam War was a total disaster for the Americans. Explain why.

Assessment

This can be used as part of the formal assessment for Term 1.

Standardised test – How did the Cold War start in Europe?

1 Explain the significance of ANY THREE of the following in the context of the Cold War:

1.1 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

1.2 Sputnik

1.3 Brezhnev Doctrine

1.4 German Federal Republic (3×3) (9)

2 Study Source A in the Addendum and then answer the questions below.

2.1 Brooman discusses the situation in Greece. Why did the West think it was important to prevent the spread of communism to Greece? (3×1) (3)

2.2 What was the Truman Doctrine and what did it aim to achieve? (3×1) (3)

2.3 According to Source A, what was purpose of the Marshall Plan? (3×1) (3)

2.4 Use your knowledge and Source A to explain the Soviet Union's reaction to the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. (4×1) (4)

2.5 Who coined the phrase the 'iron curtain' and to what did it refer? (3×1) (3)

3 Study Source B and answer these questions:

3.1 Who do the school girls represent and why are they being controlled by Madame Molotov?

3.2 What does the American hotdog stand represent and why are the girls being told(3×1) (3)
'Noses left'? (3×1) (3)

3.3 Who made this cartoon and how does this affect its bias? (4×1) (4)

4 Study Sources C and D and answer these questions:

4.1 Explain why the Soviets felt that they had to 'protect the life and currency of East Germany' as Kremer states. (3×1) (3)

4.2 What explanation does the writer of Source C suggest for routes between Berlin and the Western zones being cut? (2×1) (2)

4.3 How does Kremer argue that the USA caused the problems in Berlin? (2×1) (2)

4.4 Explain in a paragraph how Sources C and D reflect Cold War attitudes. (8)

/12/

Total for source-based test = [50]

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 4.4.

And/or: Essay questions on the Cold War

Either

1 China:

Write an essay of about 800 words in which you explain why Communist China and the Soviet Union did not form a united communist front throughout the Cold War. **(50)**

Or

2 Vietnam:

Write an essay of about 800 words in which you analyse how a small country like North Vietnam was able to win a war against a superpower like the USA. In your essay, explain key campaigns and features of the warfare used. **(50)**

Your essay will be assessed according to the rubric at the end of Topic 6.

ADDENDUM – Sources for source-based test: How did the Cold War establish itself in Europe?

Source A *An extract from Josh Brooman in which he discusses the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the 'Iron Curtain'. From* The Cold War: Superpower Relations 1945–1989, *Longman, New York, 1997, page 9*

Only one East European country escaped Soviet control. Greece, where a civil war between Communists and Royalists had started in 1944, was occupied instead by British troops. To stop the Communists from winning the civil war, the British gave guns and money to the Royalists. They also gave aid to Greece's neighbour Turkey. But by 1947 the British could no longer afford to pay for this aid. Yet, without it, the Royalists were sure to lose.

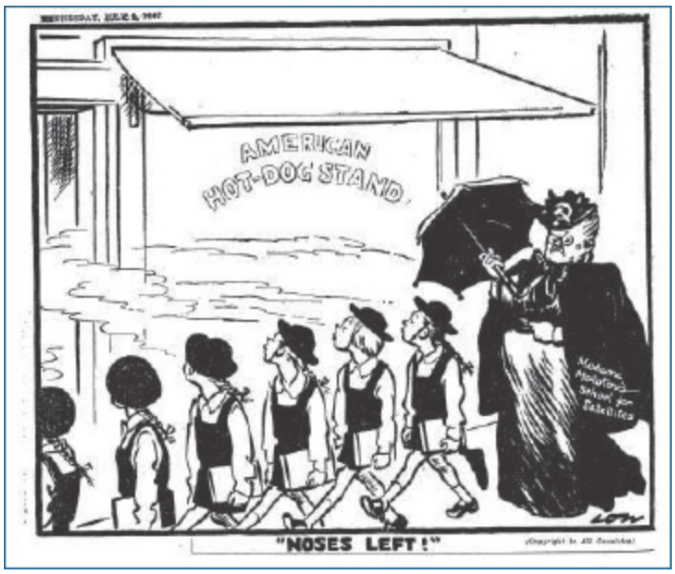
President Truman of the USA decided that this must not be allowed to happen. He said that communism must be 'contained' – that is, not allowed to spread beyond the countries that were already communist. This policy became known as the Truman Doctrine. To stop communism spreading into Greece, the US government gave the Royalists 400 million dollars in aid. With this help, they went on to win the civil war in 1949.

That 400 million dollars was a drop in the ocean compared with what followed. Three months later, the US Secretary of State, George Marshall, announced a much bigger injection of aid for the whole of Europe. By the 'Marshall Plan', the US government provided 16 European countries with 17 billion dollars of aid over the next four years (1948–1952). The money was used to repair war damage and to build up industry. The idea was that people would be less likely to support communism if they had jobs, homes and food.

Stalin bitterly criticised the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. He said that the aid was part of an American plan for world domination, and he did not allow the East European countries to accept any of it. Moreover, he tightened his grip on them by setting up a Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) in 1947. Its job was to co-ordinate the activities of the communist parties in Europe, this strengthening their power and influence.

By 1948, then, Europe was divided between the communist East and the non-communist West. At first, the division was no more than a line on the map. But before long the communist countries started to fortify their western borders with barbed wire, watchtowers and minefields. By the 1950s the 'iron curtain' had become an actual barrier across Europe which few people were allowed to cross.

Source B *A cartoon commenting on the Soviet response to the Marshall Plan. It was drawn by David Low and published in the British newspaper, the* Evening Standard, *9 July 1948. The stern school teacher in charge of the school girls is Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister. The words on her cloak are: 'Madame Molotov's School for Satellites'.*



Source C *A Soviet view of the Berlin Blockade and Airlift. Published in* Foreign Policy *by Ilya Kremer, 1968 (Quoted in J.F. Aylett*, The Cold War and After, *Hodder & Stoughton, London, page 11)*

The Soviet military government was forced to take emergency measures to protect the life and currency of East Germany. Checks were made on travelers coming from West Germany in order to keep out speculators and profiteers. Some routes between Berlin and the western zones were cut.

The Soviet authorities were ready to provide food and fuel for the population of the whole of Berlin. However, the western occupying powers deprived the inhabitants of West Berlin of the possibility of obtaining any help from East Germany. The western powers claimed there was a blockade of West Berlin by the Soviet Union.

The USA organized a so-called 'airlift' to supply West Berlin by air. This stunt served the purposes of propaganda. [It made] the 'Cold War' worse.

Source D *A statement made by President Truman of the USA in 1949 in which he comments on the importance of American actions during the Berlin Airlift*

We refused to be forced out of the city of Berlin. We demonstrated to the people of Europe that we would act and act resolutely, when their freedom was threatened. Politically it brought the people of Western Europe closer to us. The Berlin blockade was a move to test our ability and our will to resist.

Understanding mark allocations

All the activities and assessment tasks in this book have mark allocations to help you prepare for tests and examinations. Look closely at the mark allocations given. If marks are set out in different ways, they require specific approaches. For example:

- (4×1) (4) means you have to give four different points in your answer.
- (2×2) (4) means there are two points to be made and each must be backed up with one piece of factual evidence or a quotation from a source.
- (1×3) (3) means one idea, but explained in enough detail to be awarded three marks.
- (10) means a paragraph marked according to the table below.
- In this book, N/A (not applicable) is used for answers that do not require marks, e.g. class or group discussions.

Generic assessment table for paragraph questions

Paragraph questions that require the use of two or more sources are marked according to a table like the one below. Refer to this table throughout the book, as indicated in margin notes, when you are answering such questions in the different activities. For some of the paragraph questions in the book, your teacher may also give you copies of versions of this type of assessment table specifically adapted for the particular question.

Level	The learner has	Marks out of 8	Marks out of 10
3	Constructed a convincing answer using his or her own knowledge and words. He or she has methodically extracted details from each source to support their argument. His or her expression is effective and articulate	7 – 8	8 – 10
2	Written a sound answer based on information from the sources and his or her knowledge. His or her expression is clear and largely accurate.	4 – 6	5 – 7
1	Written a superficial answer that does not address the question adequately and does not extract information from the sources or has simply rewritten the sources and shown little understanding.	1 – 3	1 – 4

TOPIC 2	Independent Africa **How was independence realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?**

FROM THE LATE 1950s to the 1970s many parts of Africa which had been under colonial rule became independent nations. There were high hopes that they would become prosperous and be able to offer a better life for their citizens.

Not all independent African nations adopted the same policies. Some followed capitalist ideas; others adopted socialism. Some were multi-party democracies, others one-party states. In the Cold War era they were influenced by the competing ideologies and influences of the superpowers that we examined in Topic 1.

Much was achieved, particularly in the Africanisation of the administrative, cultural and political systems. However, there were also major challenges and problems. Africa's political and economic independence during these years was severely restricted.

In this topic you will study three independent African nations, the Congo (later called Zaire), Tanzania and Angola, in order to see how different countries dealt with these challenges. The Congo faced disunity and interference from outside powers at the time of independence. This led to an authoritarian state under Mobuto Sese Seko supported by the West as part of Cold War politics. Led by Julius Nyerere, Tanzania followed a path of African socialism. Although this gave political stability, it did not resolve the problem of Africa's continued economic dependence on world markets. Angola was continuously at war from the time of its independence in 1975 until 1989 as a result of competing Western, Soviet and Chinese interests during the Cold War era.

This woodcut by Francis Kiure Msangi was made in 1967. It is called "Ujamaa" and shows the enthusiastic response to Nyerere's policy of ujamaa.

Timeline for Topic 2

1959		Protests in Congo; Belgium decides to grant independence
1960		Independence of Congo; Lumumba becomes first prime minister
1961		Death of Lumumba; start of liberation struggle in Angola
1962		Independence of Tanganyika
1963		Mobutu seizes power in military coup in the Congo
1964		Tanganyika and Zanzibar unite to form Tanzania
1967		Arusha Declaration introduces African socialism in Tanzania
1974		Start of civil war in Angola
1975	Oct	South African invasion of Angola
	Nov	Independence of Angola
1987	Nov	Start of Battle of Cuito Cuanavale
1988	Mar	End of Battle of Cuito Cuanavale
1989		Angola-Namibia Peace Accords; withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops
1990		Independence of Namibia

Timeline tasks

1 Name the independent African countries mentioned on this timeline.
2 For how many years were South African forces involved in Angola?
3 For how long did the liberation struggle continue before Angola became independent?
4 Which Congolese leader was murdered soon after independence?

UNIT 2.1 What were the ideas that influenced the independent states?

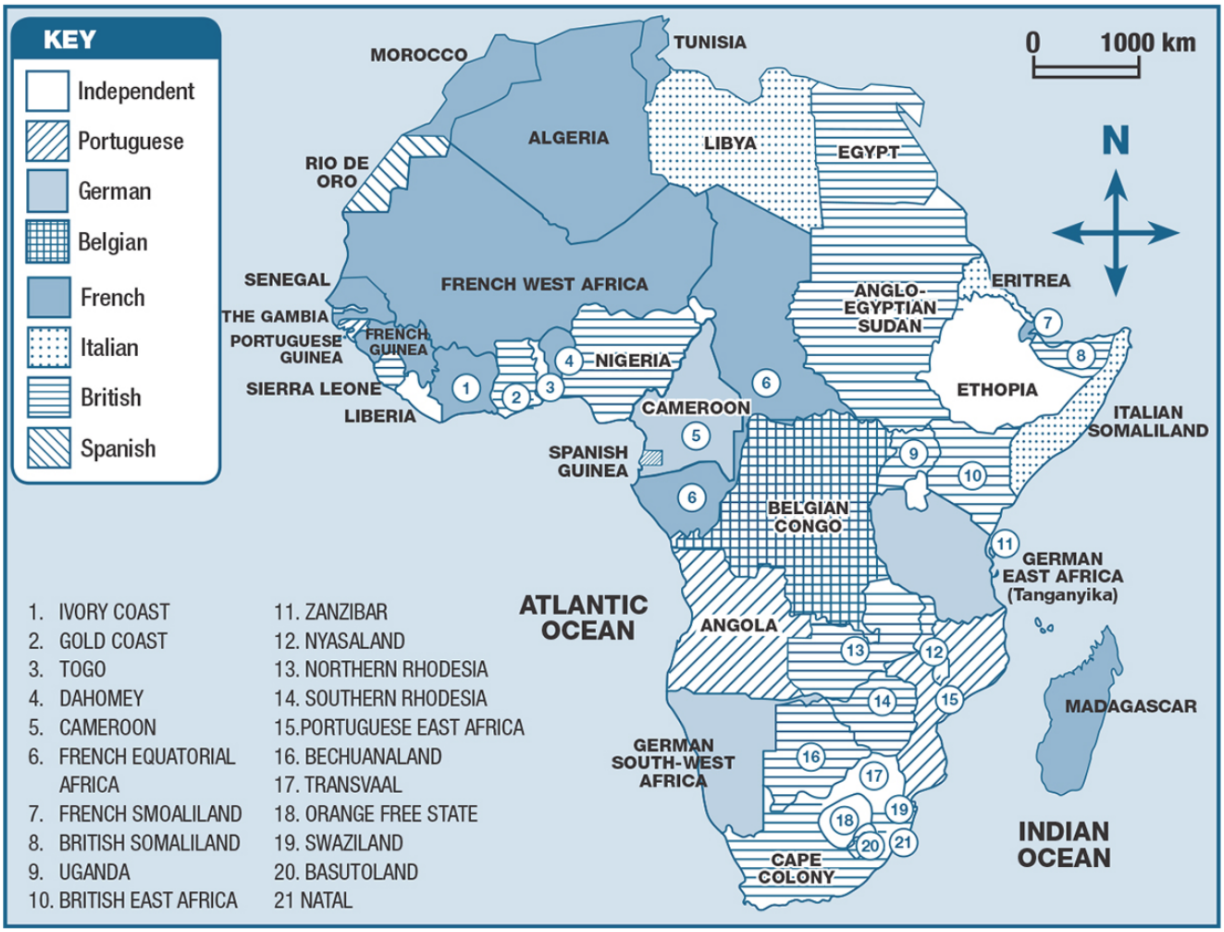
For the first half of the 20th century most of Africa was not free. It formed part of the **empires** of European **colonial powers**. But after the Second World War, **African nationalists** fought for freedom from colonial rule. In 1957, Ghana was the first colony to gain independence. By the 1960s most of Africa was independent, except for a few areas which remained colonies until the 1970s or 1980s (such as Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia).

Key words

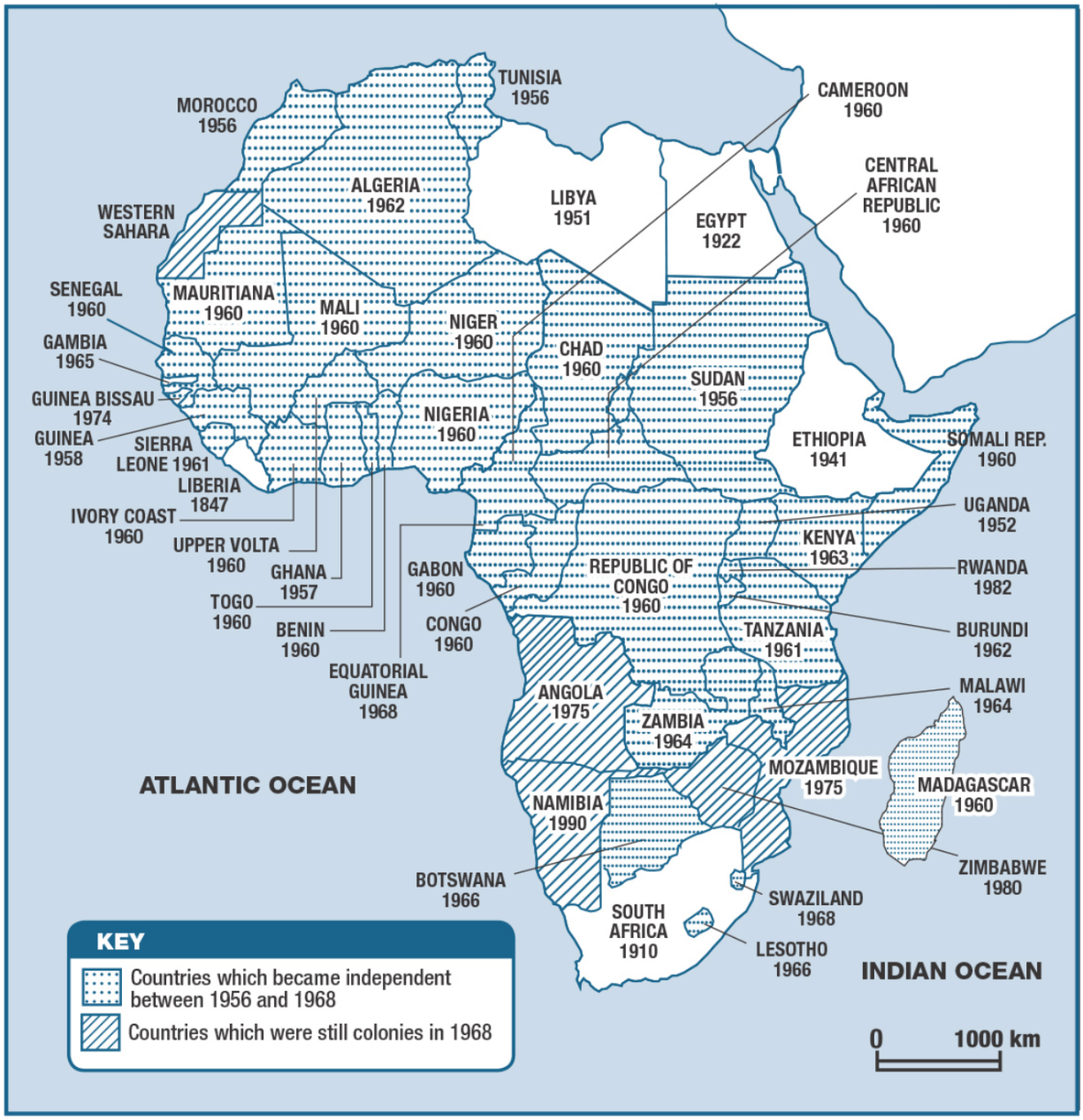
empires
all the colonies of one country

colonial powers
countries that have colonies

African nationalists
resistance leaders striving for their country's independence



This map shows Africa with its colonial boundaries. Most of Africa was divided into colonies in the 1880s and 1890s, but the process continued until about 1914. The British and the French had the most colonies in Africa. Britain controlled most of southern and eastern Africa and the French were dominant in western Africa.



By the end of the 1960s most African countries had gained independence. In 1975 Mozambique and Angola also gained independence. They were followed by Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1980 and Namibia in 1990. South Africa had been an independent republic since 1961 but was under white minority rule until 1994.

People hoped that independence would mean a bright new future for the African states after decades of colonial rule. The leaders of the nationalist movements at the time of independence had great hopes for the new states. Free from foreign control the new governments, run by Africans themselves, would make decisions for the new nations. They had different ideas about forms of government, political **ideologies** and how the economies should be run. As a result, they tried different approaches to tackle the tasks of nation-building and economic development.

Different ideas about economic systems

African states were not wealthy at the time of independence. The colonial powers had done little to develop the economic **self-sufficiency** of their colonies. The colonial economies had been geared towards exporting unprocessed minerals and cash crops cheaply, and importing expensive manufactured goods. There were few secondary industries. One of the urgent tasks facing the new states was to promote economic development, particularly **industrialisation**.

Key words

ideologies
ideas or beliefs

self-sufficiency
to be economically successful and independent

industrialisation
an economy based on factories and manufacturing

The two forms of economic system which they adopted to promote this were socialism and capitalism. As you learnt in Grade 11, socialism is based on shared ownership, government control of the economy and attempting to achieve greater equality through equal access to resources, while capitalism is based on private ownership, free enterprise and competition. The type of socialism which was applied in some states was called 'African socialism'.

African socialism

Some African leaders claimed that the principles of socialism were not new to Africa because there were many aspects of socialism in traditional African societies. These included communal land-ownership, collective decision-making as well as the classless structure of village communities. Two of the leaders who supported this view were Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Other leaders supported socialist policies because they thought centralised state control would be the best way to bring about economic and social transformation after years of colonial rule.

25 DE JUNHO DE 1976
UM ANO DE INDEPENDÊNCIA
OFENSIVA POLÍTICA E ORGA-
NIZACIONAL GENERALIZA-
DA NA FRENTE DA PRODUÇÃO
REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE

This poster celebrates one year of independence in Mozambique in 1976. The poster puts across the state's socialist views. It supports national unity (by including a flag) and promotes the role of the ordinary workers (many people are included) in overthrowing colonialism (symbolised by the weapons) and in building the country (symbolised by the tools).

Source A *This source gives Nyerere's view of traditional African society and its link to socialism. It is quoted in 'Ujamaa – The Basis of African Socialism' in K.E. Svendsen and M. Teisen*, Self-Reliant Tanzania, *Tanzania Publishing House, 1969*

> Both the 'rich' and the 'poor' individual were completely secure in African society. Natural catastrophe brought famine, but it brought famine to everybody … Nobody starved, either of food or of human dignity, because he lacked personal wealth; he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member. That was socialism. That is socialism … In traditional African society everybody was a worker …

The policies implemented under the label of 'African socialism' differed widely from country to country:

- The best-known example of African socialism was in Tanzania (which you will learn about in Unit 2.2). It was largely based on the collectivisation of agriculture and promoted economic self-reliance.
- Ghana, under Kwame Nkrumah, applied another form of African socialism which focused on massive government spending on vast and often unused public projects such as grain storage facilities, dams and highways. As a result, the country built up huge debts to foreign lenders. The economy declined and Nkrumah was overthrown in a **military coup** in 1966, just nine years after coming to power as the hero of the African nationalist movement.
- Some countries, such as Mozambique, applied a form of socialism that was closer to Marxism. After centuries of Portuguese control the leaders thought that centralised government control of the economy was the best way to solve the problems of poverty; for example the nationalisation of industry, creation of collective farms, banning of private businesses and a one-party government.
- Zambia also announced that it was following a form of African socialism, linked to 'Zambian human-

ism', which its leader, Kenneth Kaunda, defined as a belief in the equal worth of all humanity. However, the system in Zambia was really a 'mixed economy', using a combination of socialism and capitalism.

Key word

military coup
an immediate seizure or take over of power by the army

Capitalism

Some African countries adopted a capitalist approach, which relied on foreign investment and stronger economic ties with Western countries. Some of the countries which followed this approach were Kenya, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Botswana.

In Kenya, the capitalist economic approach meant state involvement – but not state control – of the economy. The land that had formerly belonged to white settlers was bought by the government and sold to individual African farmers. The government established marketing boards to give credit and technical assistance to these farmers, and to help new manufacturing industries. It encouraged foreign investment, but African-owned businesses and African entrepreneurs became an important feature of the economy. Foreign investment stimulated industrial development, and for the first 10 years after independence, Kenya had good economic growth. Critics, however, pointed out that the economic system had promoted the emergence of a wealthy elite, and that Kenya was still dependent on Western investments.

Côte d'Ivoire also applied capitalist policies and encouraged foreign investment in the cocoa, coffee and timber industries. It soon had one of the wealthiest economies in Africa. However, most of the wealth went to the towns and cities and not to the peasant farmers, who made up most of the population.

Different political ideologies about forms of government

At the time of independence, many former colonies set up multi-party democracies. However, many of them later became one-party states, as you will find out in the sections that follow.

Democracy

Before independence, there was a lack of democracy in the African colonies. In most colonies Africans had no say in how the colonies were governed. However, when the colonial powers handed over power, they expected their former colonies to run as **multi-party democracies**. In most newly independent states, many parties participated in elections for the first new governments, and initially there was a commitment to maintaining democracy. However, in many states multi-party democratic systems were soon replaced by more authoritarian systems.

New word

multiparty democracy
a political system based on elections in which many political parties can compete

By the late 1980s, only Botswana had maintained an unbroken record of democracy since independence. From 1966 onwards, it held elections every five years. And although the ruling Botswana Democ-

ratic Party won most of the votes in the country as a whole, the opposition parties were allowed to operate freely and they won majorities in the councils of some of the towns.

Source B *Seretse Khama, president of Botswana explains the need to protect and promote democracy in his opening statements to the fifth session of the Third National Assembly, 1978. This was quoted in Parsons et al*, Seretse Khama 1921–1980, *Macmillan Boleswa, 1995*.

Democracy, like a little plant, does not grow or develop on its own. It must be nursed and nurtured if it is to grow and flourish. It must be believed in and practised if it is to be appreciated. And it must be fought for and defended if it is to survive. There is an ever present danger that having enjoyed freedom and peace for so long, we could easily become complacent and apathetic and think that our democratic institutions can perpetuate themselves without our support and our commitment to their survival.

At independence, elections were held in many new African states. Here are voters casting their votes in Dakar, the capital of Senegal. After the first election in 1960, the poet and lawyer, Leopold Senghor, was voted in as the first leader.

Source C *Economics professor, George Ayittey, argues that the initial leaders in independent Africa did not set up the institutions that would sustain democracy. Quoted by Joseph and Helen Mitchell in* Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in World Civilizations, *Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 2000, page 426*.

Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda and other nationalists were all great heroes with charisma. But they all established regimes which lacked the institutions of a free press, an independent judiciary, freedom of political association, and the most basic standard of accountability. Political systems which lack these institutions have the tendency to produce despots.

One-party states

Many African states abandoned democratic forms of government after independence and became one-party states. Some historians believe that part of the explanation for this lies in the legacy of colonial rule. There was no tradition of democratic rule. The colonial authorities stayed in power by using force to silence any criticism or opposition.

The leaders also gave other explanations for adopting a one-party system:

- Traditional African societies had been based on the authority of chiefs, who ruled by getting the agreement (or consensus) of other people. They did not have competitive elections and rivalry between different parties, as in Western forms of democracy.
- A one-party system would be the most straightforward, cheap and efficient way to carry out the urgently needed economic and social development policies.
- It would create unity which was important for nation-building and was a way of avoiding ethnic divisions.
- Marxists believed that a small group was needed to lead the masses and make sure that the proper goals for economic and social development were put in place.

One-party states often led to an abuse of power, with the ruling party giving itself the powers of a dictator to silence criticism. Some relied on the army to stay in power, which often resulted in army leaders staging coups and establishing military dictatorships. One example is Mobuto Sese Seko in the Congo (who you will learn about in Units 2.2 and 2.3). Other well-known examples are Idi Amin in Uganda and Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia. By the late 1980s, 31 countries had experienced successful military coups, and half the countries in Africa were under military rule.

Therefore, although there were many common factors which led to the independence of Africa from colonialism, each African country experienced independence in its own particular way. As in other parts of the world, some countries adopted ideas of socialism, others of capitalism. Some states were democratic, others ruled by single parties or authoritarian rulers. In the next units you will see how these different ideas were adapted to the specific challenges faced by Africa in the decades after independence.

Activity 1: (groups) Understand the economic and political policies adopted by newly independent African states

1 Use the text and Source A to explain the traditions on which African socialism was based. (4×1) (4)

Use the text to answer questions 2 to 6:

2 a) Identify the benefits of capitalism as applied in Kenya and Côte d'Ivoire. (5×1) (5)

b) What were the problems that emerged as a result of these capitalist policies? (2×2) (4)

3 Explain why the economies of African countries were undeveloped at independence. (5×1) (5)

4 Explain the reasons given by African leaders for the development of one-party states. (3×2) (6)

5 Use the text and Source A to explain why socialism seemed the most likely system to suit African development. (3×3) (9)

6 Explain the different emphases of African socialism as applied in Tanzania, Ghana and Mozambique. (3×2) (6)

7 In a paragraph, compare the reasons given in Sources B and C about what is needed to maintain democracy. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 7

UNIT 2.2 Comparative case studies (1960 to 1980): the Congo and Tanzania

The next two units focus on developments after independence in two African countries – the Congo and Tanzania:

- The Congo, with its vast mineral resources and strategic position in central Africa, became a focus of attention by the superpowers during the Cold War.
- In Tanzania an ambitious and wide-ranging form of African socialism was applied with mixed results.

The two units will focus on different aspects of these case studies:

- Unit 2.2 explains the main events and developments between 1960 and 1980. This serves as a background to the next unit.
- Unit 2.3 is a more detailed comparative study of the successes and challenges that the African countries faced after independence.

The Congo

When the Congo became independent from Belgian rule in June 1960, a critical situation soon developed which brought the Cold War to Africa for the first time. The Congo became a tool of the Western powers during the Cold War.

The legacy of Belgian rule

Belgian rule in the Congo was very harsh. The people of the Congo were forced to pay high taxes and had to do forced labour. Belgian policy was based on 'paternalism' – a belief that African people should be treated as children and not allowed any responsibility or representation in government. There were few secondary schools and no higher education for Africans, although there were a large number of primary schools.

After the Second World War, the Belgians were determined to keep the Congo under their control and they tried to stop the spread of nationalist ideas from other African colonies. Until the late 1950s they banned all political parties and independent African newspapers. However, after violent protests in towns around the Congo in 1959, Belgium decided to grant independence within six months. They were hoping that, if they moved quickly, they could keep control of the government behind the scenes because Congolese politicians were so inexperienced.

Joseph Kasavubu, first president of the Congo, waves to the crowd on 30 June 1960 during celebrations of the 5th anniversary of independence, in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa). Photographer not identified.

The people of the Congo were totally unprepared for this sudden change of policy and a large number of political parties were quickly formed. Many of these were regionally-based parties which drew their support from a single ethnic group. As the people of the Congo prepared for the elections in May 1960, they had high hopes that independence would resolve the problems caused by years of poverty and oppression. In the elections, 120 political parties participated and no single party won an outright majority of the seats in parliament. The MNC (*Mouvement National Congolais*), under the leadership of Patrice Lumumba, won the most seats. It was the only party which had attempted to gain nation-wide rather than regionally-based support.

Independence and civil war

When the Congo formally became independent in June 1960, Lumumba formed a **coalition government**. He became prime minister, and he appointed his main rival, Joseph Kasavubu, as president. Lumumba wanted strong unitary or centrally controlled government, while Kasavubu and other leaders favoured a loose **federation**, where each region would have some **autonomy**.

Five days after independence, units in the Congolese army **mutinied**, demanding the removal of Belgian officers. Violent conflicts broke out in many parts of the country, including attacks on Belgian property and civilians. The unity of the new state was also threatened by the breakaway of two provinces, Katanga (backed by Belgian mining interests) and Kasai (backed by the Soviet Union). The more important was Katanga which Moise Tshombe declared to be an independent state. As 50% of the Congo's total revenue came from Katanga's mineral wealth (mainly the copper mines), this was a serious blow to the new state.

New words

coalition government
a government formed of two or more political parties

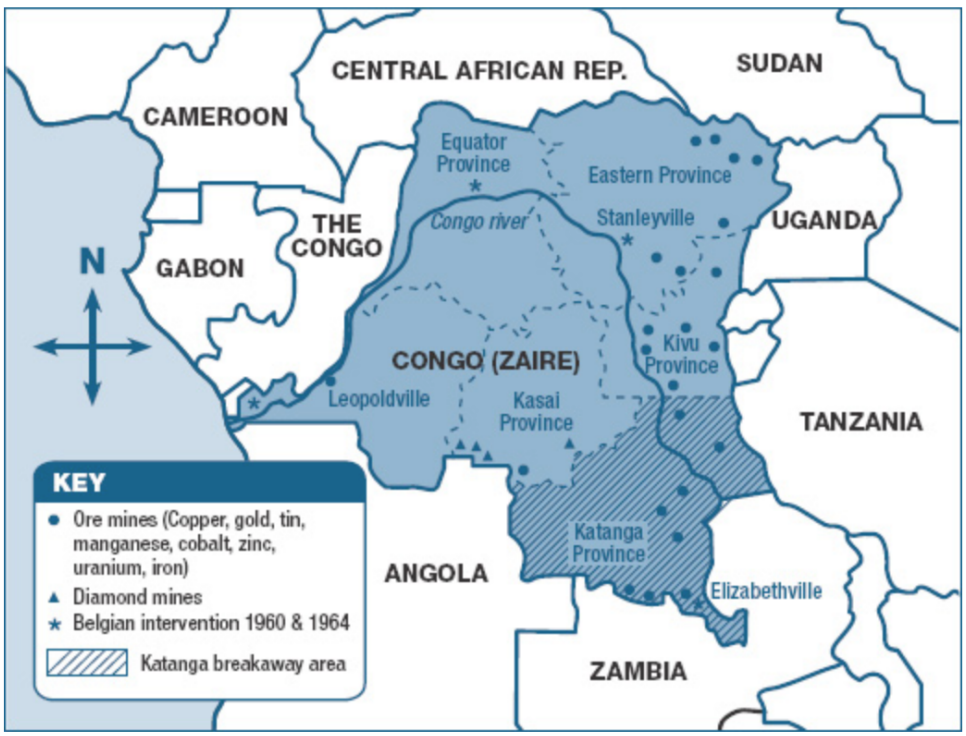
federation
a form of union in which each state or province has some power over local affairs

autonomy
independence to make decisions for the region

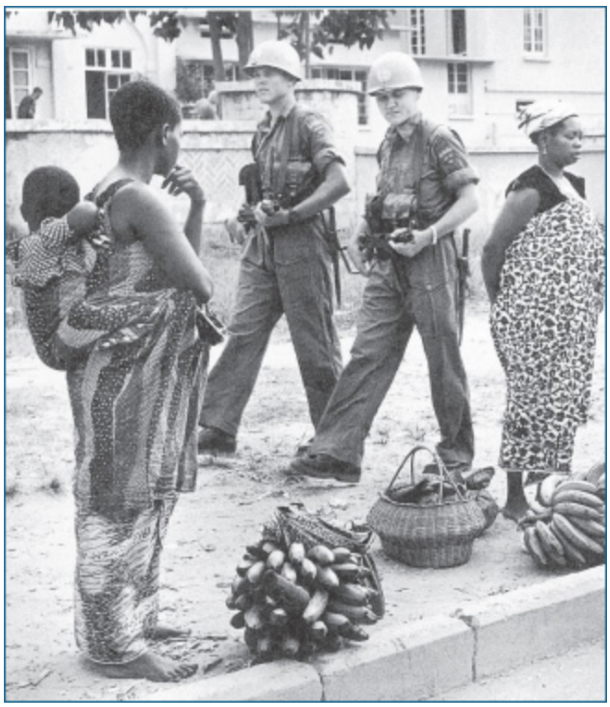
mutiny
when members of the armed forces rebel and refuse to obey orders

When Belgium sent troops to the Congo, supposedly to protect Belgian property and the 100 000 Belgian nationals still in the Congo, Lumumba and others saw this as an attempt by Belgium to restore colonial control. They were also suspicious of Belgian motives because of their control of the copper mines in Katanga. Lumumba appealed to the United Nations (UN) for military assistance to restore order, to reunite the country and to ensure the withdrawal of Belgian forces. Although a multinational UN force was quickly sent to the Congo, it struggled to achieve these aims. Under pressure from the USA, it was unwilling to use force against Katanga.

Source A *This map shows the regional divisions of the Congo. It also shows the rich mineral deposits, especially in the south and east of the country.*



A photograph of the captured Lumumba. He had been beaten and would shortly be killed. He was killed in January 1961.



Congolese women try to go on with their daily lives in the middle of the upheavals in the Congo after independence. They watch these United Nations troops who are patrolling Leopoldville, Congo, in 1960.

Lumumba accused the UN of representing Western interests, and appealed to the USSR for help. As Soviet agents, technicians, and transport vehicles started arriving, the USA and other Western nations became increasingly alarmed. Angered by Lumumba's appeal to the USSR, Kasavubu deposed him as prime minister. At this critical stage, the commander of the Congolese army, Joseph Mobutu, seized power. He immediately expelled the Soviets and ordered the arrest of Lumumba.

Source B *In this extract D' Lynn Waldron explains why Lumumba was assassinated. From www.dlynnwaldron.com, 2001. Waldron was a journalist in the Congo in the 1960s. She was highly critical of outside interference in the country. See also Source D.*

Lumumba was killed by the European and American mining and banking interests because Lumumba was the only person who could hold the Congo together after Independence and those economic interests wanted to break the Congo apart for their own profit. In order to justify killing Lumumba, they had to create the propaganda lie that he was a Communist. The assassination of Lumumba also suited the Russians who could not control Lumumba alive, but after his death they could wrap their man Gizenga in his mantle.

Lumumba was doomed. If the West had not killed him, Russia would have, and Lumumba's Congolese political rivals were equally determined to get rid of him so they could carve out their own little kingdoms within the Congo.

For the next three years UN troops and the Congolese army battled to restore order and unity to the Congo. The breakaway province of Katanga was financed by Belgian mining and business interests. Tshombe hired former Belgian soldiers and white mercenaries from South Africa and Rhodesia in an effort to defend Katanga's independence. It was only in 1963 that the UN changed its strategy and forced Katanga to re-join the Congo. In the meantime, the struggle for power between different political groups continued.

Lumumba was murdered in captivity, in controversial circumstances, in January 1961. There is evidence to suggest that Mobutu, Tshombe, the American CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and agents of the Belgian government were all involved. In addition, the UN stood by and did nothing to protect Lumumba and even allowed him to be taken to Katanga where he was killed. After his death, he was regarded as a martyr by communists around the world, and an African university in Moscow was named after him.

Activity 1: (individual) Examine the situation in the Congo at independence

Use the text to answer questions 1 to 3:

1 What was the significance of the following:
   a) the army mutiny? (3×1) (3)
   b) the breakaway of Kasai and Katanga? (3×1) (3)
   c) the failure of the UN to re-unite the country? (3×1) (3)
   d) Lumumba's appeal to the USSR for help? (3×1) (3)
2 Provide reasons to explain why the Congo was so badly prepared for independence. (3×1) (3)
3 Explain why Lumumba formed a coalition government with Kasavuba as the president. (2×2) (4)
4 Use Sources A and B to explain how foreign interference influenced events in the Congo after independence and made them more complicated. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 4

Mobutu seizes power

Eventually, in November 1965, Joseph Mobutu, with support from the USA, seized power in a military coup. He established a one-party state and strong central government control. For the next 32 years, as Mobuto Sese Seko (he changed his name from Mobutu in 1972), he ruled the Congo (renamed Zaire) as a dictator, with support from the USA which viewed him as a useful ally against Soviet ambitions in Africa. The Americans provided financial and military aid, as well as regular briefings from the CIA. Between 1965 and 1988, US aid to Zaire totalled $860 million. On his frequent visits to Washington, Mobuto was promised support, welcomed as an ally and constantly flattered by a succession of US presidents.

Source C *This extract from* In These Times *magazine, May 1997, explains the reasons for the West's support of Mobuto.*

> Enter Joseph Mobutu, now known as Mobuto Sese Seko. The CIA recruited him to help displace and then replace Lumumba. His was a one-man regime from the beginning because the United States and the former European colonial powers did not trust the people of Zaire to elect a leader who would let the West control their country's resources. At a time when national liberation movements were sweeping the Third World, true democracy would likely have resulted in socialists of one kind or another taking control in many places. That would have been bad for business.

US interests in Zaire were partly motivated by its enormous mineral wealth in copper, cobalt, industrial diamonds and other minerals. At first, the economy soared as American and other Western investors poured capital into development projects and mining ventures in Zaire. By the mid-1970s however, the economy had started to collapse, partly because of the collapse in the world copper price. At the same time, Mobuto's rule became more autocratic and corrupt. He allowed no criticism and brutally suppressed all opposition. Zaire, under Mobuto, became known for widespread corruption. He looted government funds, and is thought to have sent billions of dollars out of the country into his personal investments in Europe.

Source D *The journalist and independent writer D'Lynn Waldron blames foreign business for the destruction of the Congo. From* www.dlynn.waldron.com, *2001.*

> There is a saying in English, that to understand something you 'Follow the Money'. Therefore, don't look for answers to what happened to the Congo in political ethics, or animosities, or misunderstandings of what Lumumba was saying and wanted to do. Look for the answers in who was planning to profit. The people who were behind the chaos and the murder of Lumumba then looted the Congo of all its resources both through taking them directly and through loans to Mobutu at crippling interest rates to have European companies, that the lenders choose, build (or in many cases not build) unneeded huge projects while letting the basic infrastructure crumble, impoverishing the country and depriving the people of the necessities of life to service the debts.

Yet Mobuto continued to receive support, both military and financial, from Western governments, even though they knew how corrupt and undemocratic his regime was. They regarded him as a faithful ally they could rely on to uphold Western interests. In return they were prepared to protect him. When armed rebels invaded southern Zaire from Angola in 1977 and 1978, Mobuto immediately claimed that the communist governments of Angola, Cuba and the Soviet Union were behind the invasions. As a

result, Western governments – the US, France and Belgium – quickly sent aid to Mobuto.

Source E *The journalist Mary Baird, writing in the British newspaper* The Independent, *17 May 1997, summarised the feelings of many people about Mobuto and the West. The new Democratic Republic of the Congo has an external debt roughly equal to ex-president Mobuto's personal fortune (approximately $6 billion).*

> The United States and the West were also despised for standing by while a nation suffered three decades of assault and robbery. During the Cold War years they turned a blind eye to President Mobutu's excesses because he was seen as a buffer against the spread of communism in Africa, and in particular, in neighbouring Angola. Only when the cold war ended did human rights matter. By then President Mobutu had amassed a fortune and Zaire was spent.

The end of the Cold War in 1989 had a radical effect on the situation in Zaire. The US no longer needed Mobuto as an anti-Soviet partner, and so was not prepared to step in and support its former ally. Without US support, Mobuto was overthrown in a civil war in 1997. He fled into exile where he died a few months later.

Activity 2: (pairs) Assess international interests in Mobuto's dictatorship

1 On what issues do the following agree:
   a) Sources C and D? (2×1) (2)
   b) Sources D and E? (2×1) (2)
2 Explain why the Americans backed Mobuto when they knew he was a corrupt dictator. (3×1) (3)
3 Explain how, according to Source D, the Western powers impoverished Zaire under Mobuto. (4×1) (4)
4 Explain who all three sources blame for the situation in Zaire and analyse whether this is an accurate assessment. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 4

Tanzania

The British colony of Tanganyika became independent in 1961, and in 1964 it united with another former British colony, Zanzibar, to form Tanzania. Under the leadership of its first president, Julius Nyerere, Tanzania adopted an ambitious and far-reaching system of African socialism which had both political and economic goals for the new state.

Nyerere being held up as leader of Tanganyika

The origins of African socialism in Tanzania

For the first few years after independence, Tanzania did not implement socialist policies. Like many newly independent states it adopted the welfare and development programmes from the colonial era. Many British civil servants remained in the country, helping to train African replacements. Attempts were made, however, to expand education, which had been neglected under the British, and to promote **indigenous entrepreneurship**. Co-operatives were set up so that peasants could control the marketing of their crops. But although Nyerere was critical of capitalism, Tanzania still depended on a flow of investments from Western countries.

New words
indigenous entrepreneurship business enterprises among the local people

After five years of independence, however, Nyerere was increasingly concerned about the low economic growth and the direction that the country was heading:

- Dependence on foreign investment was draining wealth from Africa towards the industrialised capitalist world.
- Tanzania's relations with Western countries had deteriorated over issues such as Rhodesia (where Britain had failed to prevent white settlers from seizing control and declaring their independence).
- The position of the majority of the population – poor rural farmers – had not improved.
- Government employees and politicians seemed more concerned about acquiring wealth for themselves than in helping development. This private greed was increasing class divisions in African soci-

ety.

As a result of these concerns, Nyerere drew up the Arusha Declaration in 1967. His vision was of a self-reliant, prosperous and classless society. His aim was to use socialist development strategies to achieve this. Instead of depending on foreign investment and aid, Tanzania would rely on its own resources, mainly the labour of peasant farmers. It was to be a programme of economic development and nation-building combined.

Source F *Extract from the Arusha Declaration of the Tanzanian African National Union (TANU), the ruling party of Tanzania, 1967*

> How can we depend on gifts, loans, and investments from foreign countries and foreign companies without endangering our independence? The English people have the proverb which says: 'he who pays the piper calls the tune.' How can we depend upon foreign governments and companies for the major part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is that we cannot.

Source G *In his article called 'Economic Nationalism', Nyerere shows his commitment to helping his fellow human beings. He believes that socialist policies will do this. From* Freedom and Socialism, *published in 1968.*

> We are committed to the creation of a classless society in which every ablebodied citizen is contributing to the economy through work, and we believe that this can only be obtained when the major means of production are publicly owned and controlled. But the fact remains that our recent socialist measures were not taken out of blind adherence to dogma. They are intended to serve the society.

The nature of African socialism in Tanzania

Following the adoption of the Arusha Declaration, the state played a leading role in the economy, with direct control over all production, distribution and transport. Banks, insurance companies and large foreign-owned companies were nationalised. Only small companies remained under private ownership, but they were controlled by state corporations.

Civil servants and party officials were banned from involvement in any capitalist activities. The government drew up a 'Leadership Code' to prevent corruption amongst government employees and party officials. They were prevented from using their positions to gain wealth, and their fringe benefits were cut. They could not own company shares or houses for rent. They could not hold private directorships, or receive more than one salary. As a result, historians considered Tanzania under Nyerere's leadership to be one of least corrupt countries in Africa.

But the main focus of African socialism in Tanzania was on the development of rural areas. Large, collectivised villages – called *ujamaa* (a Swahili word which Nyerere defined as 'familyhood/brotherhood') – were established, in which land was communally –owned, resources were shared and leaders were elected. Nyerere hoped that the *ujamaa* villages would increase productivity and result in greater prosperity in rural areas. They replaced individual farmers living in scattered settlements. This would make it easier for the government to provide roads, markets and agricultural services for rural development. Water, health and education infrastructure could also be centralised at these larger villages. As a result, there was improved access to education and healthcare in rural areas.

Women working on an ujamaa *village in 1974*. Ujamaa *means solidarity or brotherhood. This was part of Tanzania's co-operative economic policy*.

Source H *Nyerere believed that the ujamaa villages were appropriate as they were building on African tradition. From* Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism, *published in 1968*.

All land now belongs to the nation. But this is not an affront to our people; communal ownership of land is traditional in our country – it was the concept of freehold which had been foreign to them. In tribal tradition an individual or family secured rights in land for as long as they were using it. It became the family land when it was cleared and planted; for the rest of the time it was tribal land, and it reverted to tribal land if the family stopped working it.

Activity 3: (individual) Investigate the Arusha Declaration and African socialism

Use the text unless indicated otherwise:

1 a) Identify the systems used initially in independent Tanzania. (5x1) (5)
   b) Explain why Nyerere changed his policies five years after independence. (5×1) (5)
2 Use the information in Sources F and G to explain Nyerere's reasons for introducing African socialism. (3×2) (6)
3 Explain what socialist policies were introduced in relation to the economy. (6×1) (6)
4 a) Explain how the *ujamaa* system operated. (4×2) (8)
   b) Extract information from Source H to clarify why Nyerere thought this system would work well in Tanzania. (3×1) (3)

THINK AND DISCUSS: Nyerere was committed to improving the lives of ordinary people and not allowing political or government figures to use state power to enrich themselves. Suggest why he thought an anti-corruption leadership code was necessary and important.

However, many peasant farmers were reluctant to leave the areas where they had grown up or had farmed for years. Many also did not want to give up their individually owned plots for communal ownership. When individual farmers were unwilling to join the *ujamaa* villages, a programme of compulsory 'villagisation' was introduced. Between 1973 and 1977, about 11 million people were placed in 8 000 new villages, one of the largest mass movements of people in Africa's history. There were many reports of the use of force and harsh methods to get people to move. By 1979, 90% of the peasants had been moved to *ujamaa* villages.

Some of the villages were overcrowded and were badly situated on poor, unproductive land. Partly as a result of this, but also because of a serious drought in the early 1970s, agricultural productivity declined, there were severe food shortages and fewer cash crops for export. Some of the problems were caused by mismanagement and bureaucracy. By the mid-1970s the country had to rely on loans and 200 000 tons of food aid. Instead of becoming more self-reliant, Tanzania was now more dependent for survival on foreign aid.

In urban areas too there was a decline in the economy in the 1970s. As part of the socialist policies, the government also set up over 300 state corporations (such as state banks, state industries, state marketing boards and state shops), but they were overstaffed and often inefficient. They were run as civil service bureaucracies rather than businesses, and they ran up huge losses. During the 1970s income levels continued to drop, so that by 1980 the lowest paid workers were earning about 20% less than they had earned in 1970, and middle-level civil servants about 54% less.

Not all the problems were caused by the socialist policies of the Tanzanian government. The economy was also badly affected by a world economic crisis caused by a massive increase in oil prices during the 1970s. At the same time prices for cash crops on world markets collapsed. By the 1980s, Tanzania had become even more reliant on external aid. In a broadcast to mark the 20th anniversary of Tanzania's independence, Nyerere admitted in a radio broadcast that the country was poorer than it had been in 1972. Although he acknowledged that Tanzania was neither socialist nor self-reliant, he believed that his policies had prevented the worst excesses of capitalism, such as the emergence of a wealthy elite. They had also led to impressive achievements in education, with substantial increases in adult literacy rates and primary school enrolment.

The ideals of socialism and self-reliance were not achieved and the policy was adapted in the 1980s. As a result of the desperate economic position, Tanzania's leaders were forced to agree to conditions laid done by the International Monetary Fund in return for financial aid in 1986.

Source I *This extract gives an overview of the negative impact of the socialist policies. Taken from Frederick Cooper*, Africa Since 1940, *Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, pages 178–180*

By 1972, 15 percent of the rural population had been brought into the *vijiji vya ujamaa* (solidarity villages), by 1976, 91 percent. But the results were disastrous. Many, probably most, peasants did not want to move. The government was able to force them into villages, but not to produce in accordance with its plans … The nationalizations in the commercial sector had equally bad results, so that Tanzania fell into a pattern of de-development – less production, less trade, less integration into a truly national economy. The standard of living fell 40 to 50 percent between 1975 and 1983. And self-reliance never meant what the words implied: heavily sponsored by Scandinavian countries and even the World Bank, Tanzania became one of the world's biggest per capita consumers of foreign aid, and it needed every penny of it to stay afloat …

Nyerere, architect of the one-party state imposed in 1965 as well as of socialism and self-reliance, had the wisdom to recognise that things had gone wrong. Having done his share of arresting opponents and stifling dissent, he was one of the few heads of state who willingly passed on the torch (in 1985), remaining as party head and elder statesman, and in 1990 he was willing to admit that the one-party state was not a good idea. Multi-party, competitive electoral politics was reinstated in 1992. Tanzania backed away as well from its collective economic strategies.

Activity 4: (pairs) Analyse the failure of African socialism in Tanzania

Use Source I and the text to answer these questions:

1 a) Identify the reasons for the failure of agricultural production by the mid-1970s. (3×1) (3)
   b) Explain how the country got enough food to survive. (2×1) (2)
2 Identify other reasons that were also responsible for the decline in the economy in the 1970s. (3×1) (3)
3 Give two examples of political oppression which are mentioned in Source I. (2×1) (2)
4 a) Explain why there was resistance to the *ujamaa* villages. (3×1) (3)
   b) How did the government deal with this resistance? (3×1) (3)
5 Explain why the state corporations failed. (2×2) (4)
6 Use information from Source I and the text to explain why Tanzania moved away from a one-party socialist government after 1985. (6×1) (6)

UNIT 2.3 The successes and challenges faced by independent Africa

Before you study this unit about the successes and challenges facing Tanzania and the Congo, remember to read about the main events and developments in these countries between 1960 and 1980 in Unit 2.2 so that you understand the background.

Independence from colonial rule was a turning point in African history. It raised expectations that new and better political, economic and social systems would emerge. This included:

- self-rule by Africans and the freedom to choose their own leaders and systems of government
- economic prosperity with full ownership of the minerals, crops and manufactured goods of the nation
- the Africanisation of the administration, the education system, language and culture and the ways in which society was organised.

This happened to a certain extent, but independent African states in the 1960s and 1970s also faced many challenges and problems. In this unit you will learn about the nature of these successes and challenges in relation to Tanzania and the Congo.

The kind of states that emerged – their aims and visions (political ideologies)

At the time of independence Africans wanted self-reliant independent states that would be free of the controls and restrictions that they had experienced under colonial rule. They wanted ones in which they would be able to choose what kind of state they wanted for themselves. However, as you saw in Unit 2.1, there were different political **ideologies** which influenced the kinds of states that emerged. This meant that each of the independent African nations had different aims and visions.

Tanzania

Tanzania experienced political unity in the 1960s and 1970s. TANU, (the Tanganyika African National Union), had led the struggle for independence and had a large majority in government under its leader Julius Nyerere. At the time of independence in 1961 this government aimed to bring about change through welfare and development programmes which relied on foreign aid and investment. However after the Arusha Declaration of 1967, Tanzania adopted African socialism as its main political ideology. The kind of state that emerged was based on socialist principles applied to African circumstances, with **centralised** government, **nationalised** industries, rural reform programmes and limits to capitalist activities. Although many changes were made, there were problems implementing them successfully and by the 1980s it was adapted.

New words

ideology
set of ideas

centralised
a government with strong central control from the capital city

nationalised
when the state takes over ownership from private individuals or companies

Source A *Nyerere explains his African version of socialist humanism and links it to the principles of the Arusha Declaration. From the Arusha Declaration of 1967. (From* ***Freedom and Development*** *by Nyerere (1973), by permission of Oxford University Press, USA)*

Socialism is an attitude of mind. The basis of socialism is a belief in the oneness of man and the common historical destiny of mankind. Its basis, in other words, is human equality.

Acceptance of this principle is absolutely fundamental to socialism. The justification of socialism is Men; not the State, not the flag. Socialism is not for the benefit of black men, not brown men, not white men, nor yellow men. The purpose of socialism is the service of man, regardless of colour, size, shape, skill, ability or anything else. And the economic institutions of socialism, such as we are now creating in accordance with the Arusha Declaration, are intended to serve man in our society.

Congo

The situation in the Congo was very different. The banning of political parties under Belgian rule and the sudden withdrawal of the Belgians in 1960 meant that there was no united political party with overall support. Instead there were many competing interests and ideologies. The MNC (*Mouvement National Congolais)* under Lumumba wanted strong centralised government but most other parties wanted **regional** power. This lack of national unity was seen immediately after independence when the provinces of Katanga and Kasai broke away. When Lumumba turned to the Soviet Union for support it seemed that he wanted Congo to be a socialist state. But his murder led to a period of great confusion and conflict which only ended in 1965 when Mobutu seized power in a military coup and set up a one-party state with support from the West, specifically the USA.

New word

regional
holding power or drawing support in one region of a country

Source B *At the Independence Day ceremonies, on 30 June 1960, Lumumba was not meant to speak but he surprised the Belgian officials when he did so. In this powerful speech, he started by praising the hard-fought struggle of the Congolese against an abusive colonial system and then went on to outline the kind of future he wanted to build in the Congo. This is an extract from the second half of his famous and passionate speech. (From http://www.africawithin.com/lumumba/independence_speech.htm)*

The Republic of the Congo has been proclaimed, and our country is now in the hands of its own children. Together, my brothers, my sisters, we are going to begin a new struggle, a sublime struggle, which will lead our country to peace, prosperity, and greatness. Together, we are going to establish social justice and make sure everyone has just remuneration for his labour [applause].

We are going to show the world what the black man can do when he works in freedom, and we are going to make of the Congo the centre of the sun's radiance for all of Africa. We are going to keep watch over the lands of our country so that they truly profit her children. We are going to restore ancient laws and make new ones which will be just and noble. We are going to put an end to suppression of free thought and see to it that all our citizens enjoy to the full the fundamental liberties foreseen in the Declaration of the Rights of Man [applause].

We are going to do away with all discrimination and assure for each and all the position to which human dignity, work, and dedication entitles him. We are going to rule not by the peace of guns and bayonets but by a peace of the heart and the will [applause].

And for all that, dear fellow countrymen, be sure that we will count not only on our enormous strength and immense riches but on the assistance of numerous foreign countries whose collaboration we will accept if it is offered freely and with no attempt to impose on us an alien culture of no matter what nature [applause].

Mobuto had a different vision for Zaire. He initially stressed the need for *authenticité;* that is, an increased awareness of indigenous African beliefs and practices rather than foreign ideas. In 1974 he announced a policy of *Zairianisation* which included the nationalisation of foreign-owned small businesses, most of which ended up under the control of his own political allies. By the late 1970s, a policy of *Mobutoism* was imposed as the official ideology of Zaire. This was defined as 'the thought and vision of Mobuto Sese Seko', a clear **personality cult**. There was considerable opposition to this policy by those who were excluded from Mobuto's circle of supporters.

The state in Zaire in the 1960s and 1970s was therefore much more **autocratic** and corrupt than in Tanzania and was more dependent on outside support in the Cold War era. These differences had fundamental effects on the policies that were implemented in each state.

Key words

personality cult
encouraging uncritical support for the leader who is portrayed as all-powerful

autocratic
with the powers of a dictator

Mobuto ruled for 32 years and used state funds as his own. He also developed a cult of personality through Mobutoism. As a youth, Mobuto had killed a leopard and this was a major event in his life; this is why he chose it as his symbol. He usually wore a leopard skin hat as seen here.

Activity 1: (pairs) Analyse the aims and visions of Nyerere and Lumumba

1 Study Lumumba's speech (Source B) and quote from it to illustrate his aims of:
   a) making the Congo politically and economically independent of any foreign rule (3×1) (3)
   b) promoting and protecting human rights (4×1) (4)
   c) establishing a fair system of justice. (3×1) (3)

2 Use the text and Source A to explain what Nyerere's initial vision was, how it was applied in Tanzania and how it changed. (6×1) (6)

Use the text to answer questions 3 to 4:

3 Many Congolese people loved Lumumba's speech but others argued that it showed him to be idealistic and naïve. Explain why they said this, given the context of the Congo at the time. (6×2) (12)

4 Explain the aims behind Mobuto's policies below and assess how appropriate they were for Zaire at the time:
   a) *authenticité* (4×1) (4)
   b) Zairianisation (3×1) (3)
   c) Mobutoism. (3×1) (3)

THINK AND DISCUSS: Many dictators develop personality cults (Hitler, Stalin, Mao, and so on). Why do you think they do this? Why do you think Mandela deliberately stepped down from office after serving only one term as president?

Political policies

The political policies of each state were determined both by the nature of their leaders, the situation in each country and by the differing **legacies** of colonialism.

Types of leaders: What are the qualities of a good leader?

The leaders of Tanzania and the Congo in the 1960s and 1970s are often described either as noble leaders who followed their **ideals** (for example, Julius Nyerere and Patrice Lumumba) or as autocrats who ruled selfishly and corruptly in their own interests (for example, Mobuto Sese Seko). However, historians have shown that the issue of their leadership is not quite so straightforward.

Key words

legacy
what you inherit from the past

ideals
visions for the future

THINK AND DISCUSS: A key element in determining political policies in any country is the qualities of the people in leadership positions. What are the qualities of a good leader?

Julius Nyerere

Nyerere is usually considered to have been one of Africa's greatest leaders. He retained unity in independent Tanzania and also opposed political and financial corruption. He was a philosopher and intellectual who was deeply concerned about the problems of poverty in his country and tried to resolve poverty in practical ways. He promoted education, African cultural values and the **Swahili** language. He also led a simple lifestyle which acted as a role model to Tanzanians. He was highly respected internationally as a leading statesman.

However Nyerere was not democratic. He ruled his party and Tanzania in an **authoritarian** way and imposed a one-party system on the country. It can also be argued that despite his good intentions, his policies of African socialism did not work, and levels of poverty did not improve.

Key words

Swahili
the common language spoken in East Africa, and the official language of Tanzania

authoritarian
with the powers of a dictator

Nyerere trained as a teacher and was a graduate of Makerere University College in Uganda and Edinburgh University in Britain. He is admired particularly for his moral integrity, his hard work and his desire to use his abilities to work for the good of all, especially the poor.

Source C *An extract from a blog by 'gconlamoni', an Australian missionary priest based in Kenya. The blog address is* http://gconlanomi.livejournal.com/11547.html. *This priest lived and studied in Makoko Language School at Musoma, which was the main city close to where Nyerere lived and where he first attended school.*

(The Venerable) Julius Kambarage Nyerere (usually referred to as Mwalimu = Teacher), was a great man … Julius is a model for African leaders in a continent that is riven by self-interest and abuses of power … His is an inspiring story of a gentle, humble man who devoted his life and talents to the people of Tanzania. It is the story of a great Christian, a good Catholic and a great educator.

Source D *An extract from the historian Paul Nugent's book*, Africa since Independence, *Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2004, page 141*

Nyerere, who was perhaps Africa's closest approximation to Plato's philosopher-king … was overtly critical of the assumption that Western models were necessarily applicable to Tanganyikan conditions. In particular, he disputed whether multi-partyism was the only meaningful index of democracy, maintaining that the African way was grounded much more in the search for consensus.

Source E *An extract from 'The politics of self-reliance' written by Ngugi wa Thiong'o, a leading Kenyan novelist and political commentator*

There is a way in which Nyerere comes to all of us, both in a personal sense and in a collective sense. I think every African person, even if they have never read Nyerere, would appreciate the example he gave to Africa. The fact, for example, that an African president, a leader, could peacefully leave office and still live in the same country was a tremendous contribution, especially when at this time many leaders died in office or were gunned out of office. That sense of orderly succession is a tremendous example of Nyerere's moral leadership, reflected in his own personal life and in much of his writings.

Activity 2: (groups) Examine Nyerere's leadership

The text mentioned six areas of Nyerere's leadership; they are listed below.

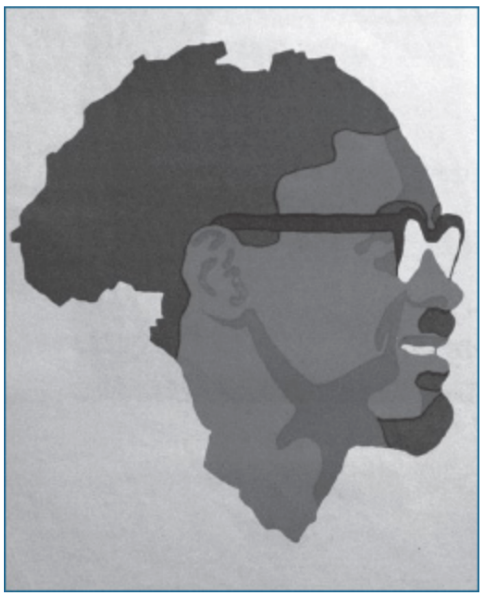
1 Study Sources A, C, D and E and answer these questions.
Identify which of these are mentioned in each source.
   a) He maintained unity. (2×1) (2)
   b) He opposed corruption. (2×1) (2)
   c) He wanted to improve life for the poor. (2×1) (2)
   d) He promoted education and African culture. (2×1) (2)
   e) He was recognised and respected at home and internationally as a leading statesman. (2×1) (2)
   f) He ruled in an authoritarian style. (2×1) (2)
2 Explain why Nyerere was fondly called (and is still referred to as) 'Mwalimu' or 'teacher'. (8×1) (8)

Patrice Lumumba

Lumumba is often described in very positive terms. He favoured strong and truly national government for the Congo, he attacked Belgian colonialism openly and stood up for what he believed in, which included **pan-Africanism**. He was a democratically elected leader and was the first and only elected prime minister of the Congo. His murder meant that he became a **martyr**, a symbol of the opposition of foreign powers to a truly independent African leader. In this view, he was let down by the United Nations and the problems of the Congo were not his fault.

Key words
Pan-Africanism the unity of all Africans
martyr someone who dies for a cause

However, it could also be argued that Lumumba did not actually achieve much for the Congo. His death came before he could restore unity and order to the country and it is not certain that his turn to the Soviet Union and his support for communism would have solved the Congo's problems. Instead it is possible that if the Congo had become an open ally of the Soviet Union, it would have been caught up in a Cold War conflict of the kind faced by Korea and Vietnam.



This illustration shows Lumumba's face as the map of Africa. It was published in a newspaper aimed at African American readers in 2009, almost 50 years after Lumumba's death. It shows that he is viewed as an African hero by many people of African descent today.

Source F *An extract from Elikia M'bokolo, in Ali Mazrui (ed)*, UNESCO General History of Africa *(UNESCO, Paris and Heinemann, Oxford, 1993), Vol. 8, page 215 which explains the different political ideas that Kasavubu and Lumumba represented*

The head of state, Joseph Kasavubu, (mentioned in Unit 2.2) represented the regionalist, federalist and moderate trends, while the head of the government, Patrice Lumumba, embodied the nationalistic, unitarian, radical and pan-African aspirations.

Source G *An extract from an article written by Simphiwe Sesanti, 'Lessons from Lumumba's murder', published in the* Cape Times, *27 January 2012*

What lessons do we draw from Lumumba's brutal murder? The death of Lumumba is confirmation of Mogobe Ramose's observation in his book *African Philosophy through Ubuntu* that the logic that inspired and justified colonisation was that 'the colonised had only one natural right, namely to submit or die'. Lumumba defied that logic. He fought back and his death remains our living inspiration.

Mobuto Sese Seko

In contrast to Lumumba, Mobuto's leadership of the Congo is usually described in very negative terms. He was implicated in Lumumba's murder. He is seen as a military dictator who ignored democracy, he developed a personality cult which made him all-powerful and his public statements became the law. He was also highly corrupt and used most of the investment money, loans or aid that was given to the Congo to build his own enormous fortune while most Congolese people lived in poverty. Rather than serving the needs of the Congolese, he made the Congo serve the interests of outside Western powers, by promising not to let the Congo become communist, by allowing Western companies to extract mineral wealth from the Congo and by giving them contracts to build large-scale unnecessary projects.

However, he also strongly promoted **Africanisation** and promoted himself as the traditional 'father of the Zairian nation'. This encouraged a sense of national pride in Zaire and in its African culture. Yet, although he ruled as a dictator, he could not solve the problem of the different regions in the country wanting self-government.

New word

Africanisation
a policy to replace non-Africans in government and to promote African customs and traditions

Source H *An extract from Kevin Dunn, 'Mobuto, Zaire and Mobutism' in K. Shillington (ed.)*, Encylopedia of African History, *Fitzroy Dearborn, New York and London, 2005, page 311. He comments on Mobuto's setting up a political system in which those in his immediate political circle stole state funds for their own benefit*.

[By the 1980s] Mobuto [had] constructed a political aristocracy that was less interested in providing security to its citizens than in extracting resources for its own enrichment. Mobuto's rule in Zaire became increasingly symbolic of what many observers labelled 'kleptocracy' and the 'criminalisation of the state'.

Source I *In this extract from Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja*, The Congo: from Leopold to Kabila: a People's History, *Zed Books, London and New York, 2003, page 141, this Congolese historian describes Mobuto's rule as that of a dictator.*

Mobuto was the big man, a new king for the Congo, and the true successor to King Leopold as the owner of the country and its resources. As though to prove that he considered the Congo a personal possession, he **unilaterally** changed the country's name to 'Zaire' in 1971, and took great pleasure in privatizing the state and its assets for the benefit of his relatives, cronies and clients. The Mobuto regime began as a military dictatorship with the entire army high command making up the junta. But it soon acquired all the characteristics of personal rule then found elsewhere in Africa: a one-party dictatorship under the authoritarian control of a single individual. Mobuto's power was so absolute that he could do anything his heart desired … and he did so with such ferocity and regularity that in addition to corruption, gross violations of human rights, including assassinations, extrajudicial executions, massacres of unarmed civilians, and banishment to remote penal colonies became the defining characteristics of the Mobuto regime. He thus succeeded in demobilising the mass democratic movement …

New word
unilaterally without consulting anyone else

Activity 3: (individual) Assess Lumumba and Mobuto as leaders

1 Explain the meaning of the following phrases used in Source F:
   a) 'regionalist, federalist and moderate' (3×2) (6)
   b) 'nationalistic, unitarian, radical and pan-African'. (4×2) (8)
2 Read the Skills Support information below and answer these questions:
   a) Use the text, Source G and what you learned about Lumumba from Source B to explain in a paragraph why Lumumba was and remains symbolically important to many Africans. (10)
   b) Would Dunn and Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja (Sources H and I) agree with each other's analysis of Mobuto's rule? Explain your answer in a paragraph. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for questions 2(a) and (b).

SKILLS SUPPORT

Why finding corroborating evidence is important

We build up our understanding of the past by studying many different sources of evidence. By comparing what different sources say, we can start to trust certain information as accurate. The more sources we find that support the same idea, the more it seems likely that this information will be accurate.

Legacies of colonialism

The legacies left by colonialism played an important part in determining the political challenges faced by each independent state and how successfully they could be overcome.

In Tanzania, Britain set up a system of political administration which gave some preparation for independence. In the 1920s the British set up 'native authorities' which gave some administrative powers, such as tax collection and responsibility for law and order, to local chiefs. After 1945 some African representatives were appointed to the central **Legislative** Council. In the early 1950s the local 'native authorities' under chiefs were replaced with local government administrations which included Western-educated Africans.

Key word

legislative
a council that makes the laws

These institutions were all under the control of the colonial government and were not enough to satisfy the demands of African nationalists in TANU, but these reforms left a legacy of some African administrative experience in the new state. When general elections were finally held in 1960, TANU won the elections, and in 1961 Tanzania became independent under a TANU government.

By contrast, the Belgian colonial system in the Congo gave almost no political opportunities for Africans. The Belgians ruled the Congo through colonial administrators who treated Africans as children incapable of self-rule. In the 1950s some 'native councils' were established which gave a limited role to a few Africans in local affairs. However, Africans had no representation at central government level and political parties were forbidden.

The speed with which the Belgians withdrew from the Congo after the Leopoldville riots in 1959 meant that there was little time for an orderly handover of power. Political parties were quickly formed but there was no single party which united nationalists as TANU did in Tanganyika. In the first national elections held in 1960, Lumumba and his MRC party obtained the most support, but not an **outright majority**.

Key word

outright majority
a party with over 50% of the vote

Source J *In this extract from* King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa, *Pan Books: 1998, page 301, Adam Hochschild reflects on how the exclusion of Africans under Belgian colonial rule left the Congo unprepared for independence*.

[W]hen pressure grew and independence came [to the Congo] in 1960, in the entire territory there were fewer than thirty African university graduates. There were no Congolese army officers, engineers, agronomists, or physicians. The colony's administration had made few other steps toward a Congo run by its own people: of some five thousand management-level positions in the civil service, only three were filled by Africans.

Types of government

TANU's victory in the 1960 democratic multiparty elections in Tanzania showed that it had the support of the large majority of Tanganyikans. In the first election after independence in 1962, TANU won all the parliamentary seats except one. In 1964 Nyerere set up a commission that recommended that Tanzania officially become a one-party state after the 1966 elections.

Source K *In this extract from Dallas Browne, 'Tanzania: One-Party Politics' in K. Shillington (ed.),* Encyclopedia of African History, *Fitzroy Dearborn, New York and London, 2005, page 1551, he explains why Nyerere supported a one-party state.*

Julius Nyerere, the father of Tanzania's independence, did not think that multiparty politics were good for Africa; he stated that 'a struggle for freedom from colonialism is a patriotic struggle which leave no room for differences'. Nyerere believed that the Westminster model was divisive in an African context.

A small handful of people could pose a threat to the state, in Nyerere's mind, and a well-organised … opposition party posed a more substantial risk for creating unrest. Each party, in his opinion, might become associated with one candidate, and his tribe would dominate that party. This might eventually lay the foundation for 'a state of potential civil war'.

Nyerere believed that democracy could thrive within a one-party system by encouraging vigorous competition within the party for nomination and office. He defended his position by arguing that overwhelming support of the TANU meant that opposing candidates stood a negligible chance of election.

The situation in the Congo was very different to that in Tanzania and in some ways could be seen to confirm Nyerere's viewpoint. In the Congo, no one party had an overall majority and there were many parties competing for power. These parties represented different regions and ethnicities and followed different political ideologies, and so there was great disunity. Lumumba's attempt to consolidate control under the MNC failed. After that, the breakaway of Katanga and Kasai provinces, the intervention of the Belgian army and the conflicts that followed Lumumba's death created a situation in which a military coup was likely. The authoritarian military government of Mobuto, backed by the West, was the result.

Political stability and instability

The one-party system of government in Tanzania, based on the overwhelming support given by voters to TANU, gave strong political stability to the country. There were no challenges to Nyerere's leadership and no regional **separatist** movements. For example, after Zanzibar merged with Tanganika in 1964, it remained an integral part of Tanzania and the ruling Zanzibari political party merged with TANU in 1977.

Although the country became a one-party state after 1966, elections were held to appoint members of parliament between 1966 and 1980 and many members of the Tanzanian parliament were voted out of office. This ensured political stability as well as political **accountability**.

Key words

separatist
a movement wanting separate independent government for a region or province

accountablilty
responsibility or obligation to answer to those who elected you

In the Congo, by contrast, there was much political instability. Regional separatism in Katanga and Kasai was one cause. Another was the instability of the political situation, with over a hundred political parties and no clear majority for any of them. There was no single leader uniting the new country, with Lumumba and Moise Tshombe in conflict with each other. A particular cause of political instability was the role played by the army. The Congolese army mutiny five days after independence led to looting and violence which the government was unable to control.

Another key factor causing instability in the Congo was outside interference. When the army mutinied, Belgium sent troops to protect Belgians and their property and this undermined the authority of the new state. The UN failed to provide effective assistance and Lumumba's opposition to the Belgians led to his murder. With his death, the only figure who had a degree of support across the nation was removed and the break-up of the Congo seemed inevitable.

Political stability was only restored to the Congo when Katanga was forced to rejoin in 1963 and after the military coup under Mobutu in 1965. This established a one-party state but, unlike Tanzania, there was no form of democracy, and stability was only achieved at the price of dictatorship.

Activity 4: (pairs) Examine political differences in Tanzania and Congo

1 Read Source K and answer these questions:
   a) Identify the reasons which Nyerere gave to support the one-party state, according to the author of this source. (4×2) (8)
   b) Explain how the situation in the Congo showed the problems Nyerere was concerned about. (5×1) (5)
2 Use the text and Source J to explain why, in terms of political administration and stability, Tanzania was in a better situation at independence than the Congo was. (2×5) (10)
3 Use the text to compare Mobuto's one-party state with the one established in Tanzania. (2×5) (10)

'Third world' types of economies

The newly independent African nations also faced challenges caused by their economic situation. Under colonial rule, their economies had been structured to serve the needs of the colonial powers. They exported unprocessed minerals and cash crops cheaply, and imported expensive manufactured goods because local secondary industry was not encouraged by the colonial powers.

Source L *An extract from Kevin Shillington*, Causes and Consequences of Independence in Africa, *Evans Brothers, 1997, page 63, explaining the damage caused by the colonial economic system*.

At independence European colonial governments left Africa with a mounting economic crisis – the end-product of three-quarters of a century of colonial misrule. Africa's economies had been directed towards providing Europe with cheap raw materials. In return, Africa imported relatively expensive manufactured goods, such as cars, trucks, machinery, tools, utensils, clothing and even processed food, from Europe. Throughout the colonial period there had been little or no attempt to develop African economic self-sufficiency. The basis of Africa's economic problem is summed up in the words of a former Tanzanian Minister of Finance: 'Africans produce what they do not consume, and consume what they do not produce'.

After political independence, this economic dependence continued in a way which was typical of '**third world**' countries in Africa and Latin America. Prices for raw materials were determined on the world markets, making these countries economically dependent on the developed 'first' (Western) or 'second' (Soviet-dominated socialist states) worlds. Several countries depended on a single crop or mineral which made their economies very vulnerable when world prices fell. For example, 90% of Zambia's export earnings came from copper and 74% of Ghana's from cocoa. Most African states could not grow enough food to feed their populations. Subsistence farmers had been driven off the land so that plantations for cash crops could be established. This is sometimes described as neo-colonialism, as it was a continued economic dependence on outside economic forces similar to the period of colonialism. It artificially held back the economic development of these countries, and so is also called underdevelopment.

Key word

third world
term first used by states in Asia, Africa and Latin America in 1955 to demonstrate their independence from the Cold War rivalry between the two Western and Soviet blocs; nowadays the term refers to countries with non-industrialised developing economies

This happened in Tanzania. The colony produced sisal, which is used for making rope and twine for foreign markets. However the price of sisal collapsed in the 1930s, making it an unprofitable crop to grow. After the Second World War, the British colonial government encouraged the growth of groundnuts as a cash crop. However the scheme failed because of unsuitable soils and farmers could not produce enough to make any profits. As a result of the switch to groundnut production, less food was grown and there were shortages of food. At the time of independence the economy of Tanganyika (as it was called before independence) was one of the least developed in British colonial Africa with an average annual income of only £21 (a quarter of that of Ghana). There was very little manufacturing industry.

Nyerere attempted to improve this situation by encouraging rural production through *ujamaa* collective villages, by establishing small-scale industries in the towns under the control of the state, and by nationalising foreign businesses. However, Tanzania was still very dependent on world markets. In the 1970s the world wide increase in oil prices and the fall of prices for cash crops severely affected the Tanzanian economy, and Tanzania was increasingly dependent on foreign financial aid. Clearly political independence had not brought economic independence.

Source M *The Tanzanian leader, Julius Nyerere, speaking at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, in the early 1980s*

> I am tired of being told that Tanzania's present condition arises out of our own mistaken policies, our own inefficiency, and our over-ambition. I am tired too of being told that Africa's present condition is the result of African incompetence, or general inferiority of capacity … Our mistakes in Tanzania and Africa's mistakes generally made an impossible situation worse; they do not account for the situation itself.

The Congo at the time of independence was a classic example of a third world economy. The prosperity of the Belgian colony was largely based on the **exploitation** of cotton and rubber plantations and mines by colonial companies which extracted all of the profits for themselves and sold the produce in foreign markets. After the Second World War, the copper, tin and diamond mines were particularly profitable. However, their profits were based on the labour of highly exploited Congolese workers who earned very little. Some local industries were established in the 1940s and 1950s to supply the colony with consumer goods, and a small African middle class developed who benefited from this. At the time of independence, the Congo was considered by many to be one of the most prosperous African colonies. However, white settlers and foreigners owned most of the economic wealth while most Africans were very poor. This caused major divisions and conflict at the time of independence.

The most immediate sign of this was the breakaway of Katanga and Kasai provinces. These were the regions where the prosperous copper, tin, uranium and diamond mines were situated. The leader of the separatist government in Katanga, Moise Tshombe, hoped that the wealth of the copper mines would enable it to maintain its independence. After the **secession** was ended in 1963, the Katanga mines were taken over by the state. Copper formed around 40% of the Congo's export earnings throughout the 1970s, but in the 1980s world demand fell as plastics and glass fibres replaced copper in industry. The result was a major loss of income for the country.

Key words

exploitation
using someone unfairly for your own advantage

secession
breaking away from a larger union to become independent

Activity 5: (individual) Examine factors affecting economic development

1 Use the text and Sources L and M to explain how the following affected the economic successes of newly independent African states:
   a) the economic system set up during colonialism (4×2) (8)
   b) world market prices (3×1) (3)
   c) the 1970s oil crisis and single-product (e.g. sisal or copper) economies. (6×1) (6)

2 Nkrumah of Ghana talked of 'neo-colonialism' – a new form of colonialism. This means although there was political independence, there was not economic independence. Explain how this was the case in the Congo and Tanzania. (Refer to Source M in your answer as well.) (2×4) (8)

Social and cultural issues: the benefits of independence

During the colonial period, Western ideas and cultures were generally valued more highly than African ones. Colonial administrators promoted Western legal and government systems over local customs and laws, missionaries promoted Christianity over indigenous belief systems, and schools used curricula which were based on those of the colonial powers. For example, children were taught European history and languages such as English and French. As a result African indigenous knowledge systems and cultures were devalued. Some Africans who received a colonial education rejected their own culture in favour of colonial ideas.

Source N *The Kenyan author and academic, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, describes the mental indoctrination of colonialism in general and colonial education in particular. Published in* As I See It: Mboya is Right – Education is an Investment, *1963*

> The worst colonialism is the colonialism of the mind, a colonialism that undermined one's dignity and confidence … [The education system] produced a whole group of people with a colonial mentality. [This had] two facets … an inferiority complex that was ready to be apologetic of a people's past when not outright ashamed of it, and an extreme dependency – a feeling that only the white man can do things for us.

But many African nationalist leaders came from this middle class. They not only wanted political independence and greater social opportunities for Africans in the new states, but also greater respect for African values and cultures. For example, although Julius Nyerere studied at Edinburgh University in Britain, he strongly promoted the use of Swahili, the common language spoken by almost all Africans in Tanzania. After independence Swahili became the national language of Tanzania.

The social and cultural benefits of independence were most clearly evident in education and Africanisation policies.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Use the text and Source N to discuss why the colonial system had been so psychologically damaging for many people and why knowledge of the richness and value of your own culture and language is important in building a positive identity.

Education

One of the most serious social challenges present in Africa after independence was the lack of a good education system. In most newly independent countries, over 80% of the population was illiterate. There was a serious shortage of skilled people to staff the government and administration of the new states. With a shortage of teachers and schools, many governments had to choose between using scarce resources for basic primary education for all (to eliminate illiteracy) or to provide tertiary education for a few (to develop the specialised skills so desperately needed).

Source O *A UNESCO publication on education in independent Africa, 1960s*

> Of this population (of around 170 million), a little more than 25 million are of school going age and of these nearly 13 million have no opportunity of going to school – and of the 'privileged' 12 million, less than half complete their primary education. Only 3 out of every 100 children see the inside of a secondary school while not even two of every thousand have a chance of receiving some sort of higher education in Africa itself. The overall estimated illiteracy rate of 80 to 85 % is nearly twice that of the average world figure.

Source P *An extract from J. Iliffe*, Africans: The History of a Continent, *Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, page 263*

Most nationalist leaders owed their position to schooling and invested massively in it. Between 1960 and 1983 primary school enrolment in black Africa roughly quadrupled, secondary school places multiplied six-fold, and the number of university students increased twenty-fold. It was one of the great successes of independence, with important political implications.

In Tanzania, Nyerere stressed the need for equal basic education for all. In his pamphlet entitled *Education for Self-reliance*, written at the time of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, he argued that the colonial educational system which Tanzania inherited was elitist and too focused on the cities. A radical reform of education followed, with a focus on rural schooling and basic literacy. The skills of the small number who entered university were valued, but Nyerere believed that they should be widely shared and proposed that students spend part of their time in the countryside. For example, medical students were required to work in primary health clinics in rural areas.

By 1981, 97% of all Tanzanian children were attending free primary schools and an adult literacy campaign had reduced illiteracy from 80% in 1961 to 20% in 1981. However fewer resources were given to secondary schools and universities and there was a severe teacher shortage by the late 1970s. As a result, the standard of education dropped from the 1980s onwards, in comparison with other states such as neighbouring Kenya.

Learners in a Tanzanian classroom. Nyerere stressed the need for basic education for all.

In the Congo, the opposite happened. The Belgian colonial state encouraged the education of a small elite in Western-style knowledge and skills. For example, in the Congo at independence, there were only 14 university graduates out of a population of 14 million. After independence in the 1960s there was support for primary education and school enrolment rose from 1.6 million in 1960 to 4.6 million in 1974. However French continued to be the language of instruction and the educational system strongly favoured urban elites. During the Mobuto years, primary education declined and state funding was withdrawn, leaving parents to pay for schooling if they could afford it.

Source Q *These extracts describe the problems in the education system in the Congo in the 1960s and 1970s. From Kisangani Endanda, 'Education and society' in Kankwenda Mbaya (ed.),* Zaire: what destiny?, *CODESRIA publishers, Dakar, 1971, pages 139, and 140–1.*

By the end of the 1960s it was clear that the school system was ill-suited to development needs. It encouraged a small elite to concentrate on individual success and the urban life-style. Some graduates simply took off for greener pastures in the West …

The state's attempt to fund education grew increasingly cumbersome. Given the general infatuation with high-level qualifications, such basic educational institutions as primary, secondary and vocational training establishments were put on the back burner. Before 1971, the government was able to supply primary schools with books and equipment as well as paying salaries. From 1972, however … its allocations dwindled from year to year … By contrast, university and the higher educational system has expanded.

Activity 6: (individual) Assess the importance of education

Read the Skills Support information below on 'How to construct longer pieces of writing using a number of sources' and then answer these questions.

1 Use Sources O, P and Q to explain what the issues relating to education in Africa were. Discuss the situation before independence and after. (Your answer should be about 300 words.) (10)
2 Compare the different approaches taken to education in Tanzania and the Congo. (2×4) (8)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 1.

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to construct longer pieces of writing using a number of sources

This 'TIE' method is one way of doing this:

- Read the question and identify its different parts.
- Read the sources and identify the main topics (T) or sections that are relevant to the question.
- Write down the issues (I) that are relevant to each topic.
- Find evidence (E) from each source that backs each issue you have identified. Go through the whole source line-by-line taking out each relevant idea – there may be one, two or more.
- So each paragraph will link to the main topic (T) and include one or more relevant issue/s (I) and a lot of evidence (E). (See the example below.)
- As you write your answer check that you follow this TIE structure. (The I and E sections are the most important).

The first topic, issue and evidence are set out below to give you an idea of the TIE process:
Topic: Problems at independence
Issue: Poor education levels at independence
Evidence: from Source O

- Not enough schools – over half of the children will not be able to go to school
- Too few at secondary and tertiary level
- Illiteracy up to 85%

Africanisation

The removal of colonial officials and administrators at the time of independence gave new opportunities to Africans. The Africanisation of the government was one of the most obvious results of independence, although it only benefited the educated elites.

In Tanzania, Africanisation did not just involve jobs in government and the civil service. Nyerere promoted Swahili as a national language and believed that African co-operative community values would be encouraged in the *ujamaa* villages.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Nyerere believed that making Swahili the national language of Tanzania would reduce tribalism, religious discrimination and racism, and that it would allow Tanzanians to communicate in a common language. What would be the advantages and disadvantages if South Africa had chosen to have one official language, instead of eleven?

In the Congo, Africanisation was more **controversial**. When Lumumba became prime minister of the coalition government in 1960, he called for the swift Africanisation of the army and the administration. As a result, several forces in the Congolese army mutinied, demanding pay rises and the replacement of white officers by Africans. It was this mutiny that led to the intervention of Belgian and later UN troops.

New word

controversial
open to debate, an issue on which people have widely different opinions, causing discussion and disagreement

However, it was Mobuto who carried out the most thorough programme of Africanisation. This was ironic, because at the time he was closely allied to Western powers in the Cold War. Soon after his coup, he renamed many of the country's towns with African names (the capital, Leopoldville became Kinshasa) and the Congo itself was renamed as Zaire. All Zairians were required to change their names to more African ones. Joseph-Désiré Mobutu became Mobuto Sese Seko Kuku Ngbedu Waza Banga.

Mobuto followed this with his *authenticité* campaign in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This promoted indigenous customs and beliefs over borrowed or imposed ideas. *Authenticité* was intended to unify Zairians with a sense of pride in their own culture, although Mobuto also used it to strengthen his own authoritarian position.

Mobuto promoted authenticité, *thereby promoting African beliefs and culture. But he used it as a way of legitimating his dictatorship. He said that his one person rule was right because in African chiefly tradition there was only one chief*.

Mobuto argued that democracy was a foreign ideology and that he was the 'father' of the nation in a way which followed chiefly tradition, claming that 'in our African tradition there are never two chiefs.'

Source R *Severe criticism of 'Authenticité' as a set of policies, from* http://politicalpathologies.wikispaces.com/Zaire+Under+Mobuto. *No further details of the author are given*.

> '*Authenticité*' was not a popular set of policies, nor was it particularly effective. What it was, however, was populist – it attempted to unite Zairians under one common flag and appeal to their 'African' nature – the problem was that this nature was by no means universal. The vast majority of Zairians suffered horrendously, as a leader that was supposedly respecting their wishes and uniting the citizenry under one flag hypocritically destroyed Zaire's economy and tried to brainwash wider society into accepting his actions through an appeal to some deeper 'Africanism' that really did not exist.

Not all Africanisation policies were imposed from above. There were many examples of African cultural initiatives in independent Africa. One Zairian example which is still popular today is the music that originated in the streets of Kinshasa and was promoted by Zairian recording companies as part of the *authenticité* campaign. The most famous Zairian musician was the jazz guitarist Franco Luambo Makiadi, the 'king of Congolese music'. He produced songs in praise of Mobuto but also ones on 'the eternal themes of love and hardship' and satirical comments on Zairian life which had wide popular appeal.

After independence all African states faced different political, economic, social and cultural challenges and had various successes. The examples from the Congo and Tanzania which are discussed in this topic are two examples of these, but they show that each country dealt with these issues in very different ways.

Activity 7: (groups) Examine Africanisation policies

Use the text to answer questions 1 and 2:

1 Why did Africanisation policies largely benefit the educated elites? (3×1) (3)
2 What unexpected effect did Lumumba's rapid Africanisation policy have? (3×2) (6)
3 Do you think Source R is reliable as a source of evidence? (3×1) (3)
4 Use the text and Source R to explain the problems linked to Mobuto's *authenticité* campaign. (4×1) (4)

THINK AND DISCUSS: Zaire has been particularly successful in the field of music. The music of Franco Luambo Makiadi is popular in South Africa. Bring his music to class and listen to it or watch a You Tube clip of him. Then, discuss why music is an important part of history and how, when a movement such as the *authenticité* campaign is carried out by ordinary people, it is different from when it is implemented by the government.

CASE STUDY: ANGOLA

How Africa was drawn into the Cold War

When African states became independent from colonial rule in the 1950s and 1960s, it was at the height of the Cold War. The superpowers tried to gain allies among the new African states by supplying aid and weapons. The intervention by the Cold War rivals usually had a negative impact on Africa. It often meant that disputes could not be resolved peacefully because of superpower support for opposing sides.

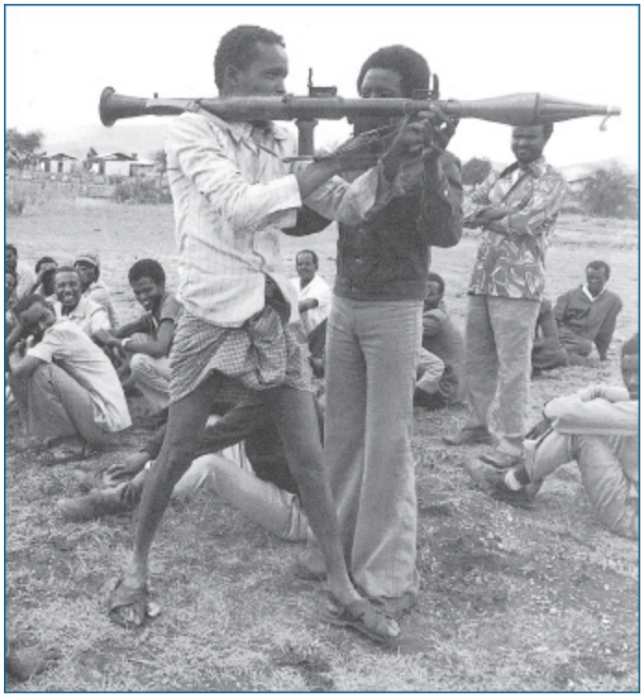
The USSR saw its role in Africa as helping to overthrow colonial governments, supplying aid to nationalist liberation movements, and supporting anti-Western governments. The USA and other Western powers became involved in Africa to protect trade links and to support pro-Western governments, such as Zaire. However, many African states were suspicious of the aims of Western countries, partly because they were associated with colonialism and also because they maintained economic links with apartheid South Africa.

Africa was also affected by the conflict and rivalry between China and the Soviet Union. After the Sino-Soviet split in 1960, China identified itself more closely with the developing world, and initiated and financed projects which were designed to secure 'economic liberation', as well as check Soviet advances in Africa. The Chinese believed that their form of communism was better suited to developing countries with large peasant populations.

Competing spheres of influence: trade, conflict and aid

The superpowers competed for spheres of influence in Africa, areas which they could dominate or control. They did this by establishing trading partnerships, or by providing arms or aid, sometimes to governments in power, or to rebel groups fighting against governments in power, or to opposing sides in civil wars.

The main aim of US foreign policy in Africa was to counteract Soviet influence wherever it emerged. As you learned in Unit 2.2, this is what led to their intervention in the Congo. So too they became involved in Somalia, after a communist government came to power in neighbouring Ethiopia in 1974 and established links with the USSR. Africa as a source of minerals was also extremely important to the US, especially for industrial diamonds, uranium, manganese, cobalt and chromium. The capitalist mining and trading companies that had been set up under colonial rule were threatened by the communist views of many liberation groups and looked to the US to protect their interests.



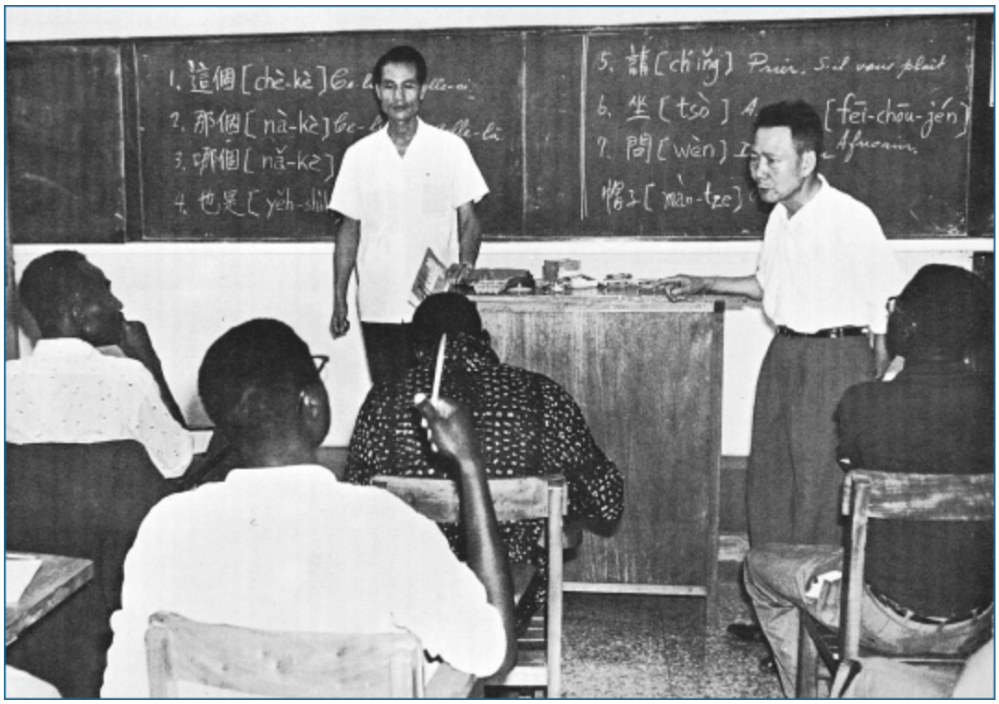
This photograph shows people in the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia and Somalia) being trained to use military equipment. The superpowers spent huge amounts of money on providing weapons which escalated the conflict in this region. This photograph was taken in the 1970s.

The Soviet influence in Africa is seen in this photograph where Ethiopian children wear T-shirts on which a hammer and a sickle, the symbol of communism, is printed.

The USSR was also motivated by Cold War concerns in its provision of aid to Africa. For example, it supplied aid to anti-Western governments in Mozambique and Angola, and weapons to Somalia and Ethiopia. This aid was often accompanied by Cuban, rather than Soviet, troops and technicians. During the 1980s about a quarter of Cuba's armed forces were involved in military training exercises in Africa.

During the early 1970s, Chinese aid to Africa outstripped Soviet aid, and the actions of Chinese technicians and workers, who worked alongside local workers and shared their living conditions, earned them respect. The largest Chinese aid project in Africa was the Tan-Zam railway. This railway line is 1 800 km long and links the Zambian copper belt to the port of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania. The aim of the railway was to allow Zambia to export copper without having to use South African ports. Altogether 20 000 Chinese worked alongside 36 000 African workers on this project, which was completed in 1975.

Chinese money and expertise helped in the construction of the Tan-Zam railway line shown on this map from that period.



In this photograph from the early 1970s, Chinese teachers teach French-speaking Africans. The focus of most of the training and education was to give Africans technical knowledge.

Not all African governments were pawns of the superpowers during the Cold War. Some of them accepted aid from both superpowers and avoided committing themselves to supporting their policies.

One benefit to Africa during the Cold War was that the superpowers competed with each other to provide aid. However, the overall impact of the Cold War on Africa was negative. Two African countries which were severely affected by Cold War politics were the Congo (which you learnt about in Units 2.2 and 2.3) and Angola.

Activity 1: (pairs) Understand how the Cold War influenced African politics

Use the information in the text to answer these questions:

1 Identify the reasons why many African states trusted the USSR more than they trusted Western countries. (3×2) (6)
2 What motivated China's involvement in Africa in the 1960s? (3×1) (3)
3 Explain why the African states were in need of outside support after independence. (3×1) (3)
4 Explain why the US got involved in newly independent African states. (3×1) (3)

Angola: colonialism and independence

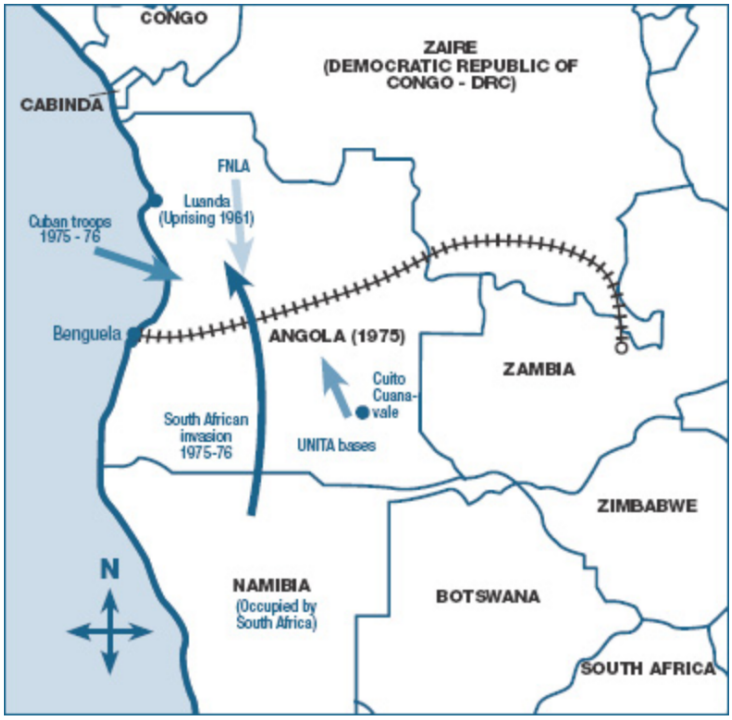
Portugal was the last European power to maintain colonies in Africa. When other African states became independent in the 1950s and 1960s, Portugal decided instead to strengthen its control. This led to the outbreak of war between Portuguese troops and national liberation groups in its three African colonies, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. In Angola, the liberation struggle began with uprisings in the capital Luanda and in northern Angola in 1961. The underlying causes were anger over the loss of land and the harsh treatment of Angolans by Portuguese settlers and traders. Although the uprising was harshly suppressed, it was the start of a long nationalist struggle for independence.

By the 1970s these colonial wars were costing almost half the Portuguese budget and involving increasing numbers of troops. In 1974, army officers in Portugal, who were determined to end these pointless wars, overthrew the government of the Portuguese dictator, Antonio Salazar, and announced that independence would be granted as soon as possible to Portugal's African colonies.

In Angola the situation was complicated by the existence of three rival liberation groups each of which claimed to represent the Angolan people:

- The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), led by Agostinho Neto, supported the creation of a communist state. It was supported by the USSR. Its main support was in Luanda and other towns.
- The Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), led by Holden Roberto, had links with both China and the USA, both of which wanted to counteract Soviet support for the MPLA. It also had support from Mobuto in Zaire. Its main support came from the north.
- The National Union for Total Independence for Angola (UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi, was at first supported by China, but later by the USA and South Africa. Its main support was in the central highlands and the south.

Despite the differences between them, the Organisation of African Unity managed to get all three groups to co-operate so that elections could go ahead and the transition to independence completed. The three leaders formed a shaky coalition and agreed to work together to organise elections and draw up a provisional constitution. However, before these elections could be held, outside powers became involved: the USA, the USSR, Cuba, South Africa and, to a lesser extent, China. (You will read about the reasons for their involvement later in this unit.) This intensified the rivalry between the three liberation groups. The war for liberation from Portugal became a bitter struggle for power. It was not yet clear which faction would be in control of independent Angola when the Portuguese left in November 1975.



This is a map of Angola and its neighbouring states. Look for the following: the capital Luanda (which was the MPLA stronghold), Cabinda (where most of the oil deposits are found), the arrows showing the advances of the rival groups and Cuito Cuanavale, where later a battle took place which was an important turning point in the war.

Angolan children playing on a broken down statue of the former colonial power. Although the Portuguese had been overthrown, civil war continued in Angola until 2002.

The outbreak of civil war in 1974: the FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA

When the civil war started in 1974 the FNLA, with support from both China and links with the CIA, was in a strong position. UNITA too received small quantities of arms from China, and had support among the largest ethnic group in Angola, the Ovimbundu. By contrast, the MPLA was weakened by internal divisions. However, partly as a result of Chinese support for the FNLA, the Soviet Union sent weapons, while Cuba sent military advisors to the MPLA. With this advantage, the MPLA managed to gain control of the capital Luanda and other coastal towns. This situation alarmed the US. In an effort to prevent the Soviet-backed MPLA from coming to power once the Portuguese left, the US sent funding and supplies, and later also large quantities of weapons to the FNLA and UNITA.

Source A *This 1975 photograph shows armed troops in front of a UNITA banner. The large figure on the banner is Jonas Savimbi.*

The situation was further complicated when the South African military forces invaded Angola in October 1975, a month before Angolan independence. South African troops, aided by UNITA and FNLA forces, quickly occupied large areas of Angola, and threatened Luanda. They were anxious to capture the city before independence day on 11 November. The MPLA was saved from defeat by massive military aid from the Soviet Union and Cuba: Soviet arms and Cuban troops. When the Portuguese withdrew in November 1975, Agostinho Neto, of the MPLA, declared the establishment of the People's Republic of Angola. At this crucial stage, the US Congress decided against any further direct American involvement. In spite of this, the war dragged on. The MPLA controlled the capital, Luanda, and the Cabinda oil wells, Angola's chief source of income. However, it had little control over other parts of the country and fighting continued. But, with Soviet and Cuban backing, the MPLA succeeded in defeating the FNLA and stopped the advance of UNITA.

After the collapse of the FNLA, the struggle continued between the MPLA government forces, now known as the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), supported by armed forces from Cuba, and weapons, ammunition and fighter planes (MIG-23s) from the Soviet Union, and UNITA, backed by the South African military. This destructive civil war continued for decades (1974–1989), killing 1.1 million civilians and injuring many thousands of others in landmine accidents, and destroyed the economy of Angola. The country's resources were spent on arms instead of being used to raise money for much-needed development. The on-going war made foreign businesses reluctant to invest in the

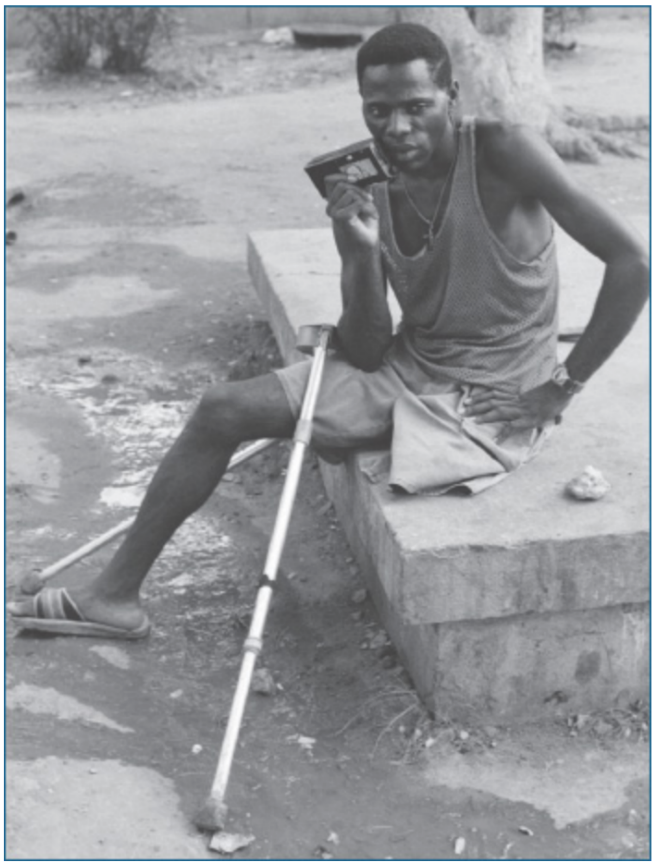
potentially rich country. The MPLA government became increasingly dependent on Angola's oil wealth to keep going. Savimbi raised some of the money UNITA needed by selling Angola's diamonds, and by killing elephants and selling the ivory on international markets.

Source B *An extract from Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates Jr (eds)*, Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience, *Basic Civitas Books, New York, 1999, page 107. This extract describes the opposing forces in the civil war, the policies carried out by the MPLA government and the impact of the war on the people.*

The South African invasion, Cuban intervention, and Soviet and American assistance internationalised the Angolan conflict. Although the FNLA ceased to exist in 1976, UNITA – benefiting from extensive South African military assistance as well as United States aid and a lucrative diamond smuggling industry – built a formidable fighting force of around 40 000 soldiers. For nearly two decades a civil war raged between UNITA guerrillas and the MPLA government, killing more than 1.1 million civilians, mostly in the rural areas, where over 80 percent of the population lives.

The MPLA, a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party since 1977, expanded educational opportunities and the health care system and nationalised industries deserted by Portuguese settlers and foreign corporations. But its state-owned farms and inefficient bureaucracies only made life more difficult in the countryside, where roads deteriorated and small farmers were left without access to markets or agricultural inputs. President Neto and Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who succeeded Neto in 1979, pursued pragmatic economic policies, permitting private ownership and co-operating with Western oil companies in exploiting Angola's rich reserves off the coast of Cabinda. The enclave had become one of the largest oil-producing regions in Africa, and Cabinda separatists continue to fight the Angolan government for their independence. Much – if not all – of the $400 million annual oil revenues were spent on the war effort, as defense accounted for 40 percent of annual government expenditure.

Source C *The war destroyed the infrastructure and transport networks of Angola and had a devastating effect on people's lives. Many Angolans suffered pain, hardship and torture. Their family members were killed, and communities, houses, livestock and land destroyed. Many landmines are still in place and people continue to be injured by them when they are detonated. This photograph, taken at the end of the Angolan war in 1989, shows one of many people who lost limbs as a result of landmine explosions.*



Activity 2: (groups) Analyse Angolan independence in the context of the Cold War

Use the text to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise.

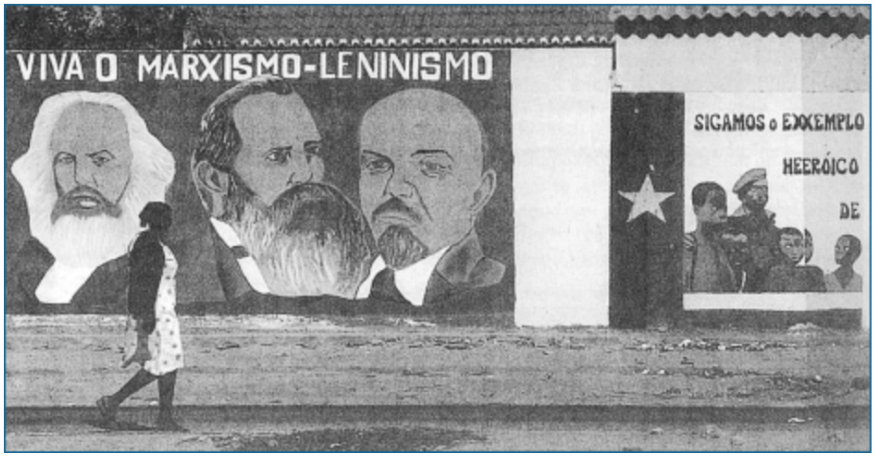
1 a) Identify the three rival liberation groups in Angola (3×2) (6)
   b) Explain how the situation was further complicated by the involvement of external powers. (2×1) (2)
2 Identify the areas of the country in which each group had support. (3×1) (3)
3 Explain why Portugal decided to grant independence to its colonies in 1974. (3×1) (3)
4 Explain what happened just prior to independence day that escalated the conflict between the three groups. (4×1) (4)
5 Assess in what ways Source A is useful to understand the situation in Angola at the time. (2×1) (2)
6 Use Source B and the text to explain how UNITA used the tension caused by the Cold War to gain and maintain support. (3×2) (6)
7 Using Source B and the text, discuss whether the policies introduced by the MPLA improved the standard of living. (4×2) (8)
8 Use the text and Sources B and C to answer the following questions:
   a) Explain why this war lasted so long. (3×1) (3)
   b) Describe the negative impact it had on the people and the potential for development in Angola after independence. (4×1) (4)

The reasons for and nature of outside involvement in Angola

One reason for outside interest was Angola's natural resources, especially diamonds and oil. But the key reason for outside involvement was the politics of the Cold War era. Soviet, American and Chinese support for opposing sides, and intervention by South African and Cuban forces, turned Angola into a battleground of the Cold War conflict.

The USSR

The USSR initially supported the MPLA because of its pro-Marxist policies. It would obviously suit Soviet interests to have a communist government in power in Angola, with its rich resources and its strategic position next to neighbouring Zaire, a US ally under Mobutu. Soviet support for the MPLA was also influenced by its rivalry with China, and China's support for the other two liberation movements. Key reasons for the Soviet decision to send large quantities of weapons and Soviet technical advisors to Angola were American support for the rival groups, and South Africa's invasion of Angola when it seemed as if the MPLA would be defeated. After coming to power, the MPLA government declared itself to be a Marxist-Leninist regime, and relied increasingly on support from the Soviet bloc, although its policies were never dictated by the USSR.



This post-independence Angolan wall mural clearly shows the influence of communism in the area. It shows the founders of communist theory or Marxist-Leninism: Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The USA

The US wanted to prevent a Soviet-backed communist government from coming to power in Angola. For this reason, it supplied weapons, funding and supplies to both the FNLA and UNITA. This was stepped up after the American withdrawal from Vietnam. The American government was keen to assert its position in Africa after its humiliating defeat by the communists in Vietnam. They saw this as a way of restoring the balance of power between the superpowers. However, after its defeat in Vietnam, the USA was not prepared to become directly involved in the fighting by sending troops. They secretly encouraged the invasion by the South African army, hoping that this would prevent the MPLA from coming to power. The effect of US involvement was to prolong the civil war.

Cuba

There were strong historical links between Angola and Cuba because slaves from Angola had been shipped to Cuba during the days of the Atlantic Slave Trade. The Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, had made an early commitment to support the MPLA, even before the USSR had become involved. By the mid-1980s there were 20 000 troops backing the MPLA government forces against UNITA. This number was later increased to 55 000. The names of 2 070 Cuban soldiers who died in Angola between 1975 and 1988 are inscribed in a memorial at Freedom Park outside Pretoria, along with the names of South Africans who died in the liberation struggle. The effect of Cuban involvement was to help the MPLA government to stay in power. Cuban involvement also contributed to a settlement over Namibia, because Cuban military strength forced the South African government to re-assess its policies in southern Africa.

Source D *This extract, from J. Isaacs and T. Downing*, Cold War, *Bantam Press, New York, 1989, talks about the Cuban initiative in Angola. It mentions Kissinger (who was the American Secretary of State at the time) and Fidel Castro (who was the leader of Cuba).*

Although Kissinger liked to call the Cuban troops the 'mercenaries' of the Soviet Union, it is now clear that Cuba acted out of its own revolutionary zeal and not, in the initial stages at least, as the Soviet Union's client. Fidel Castro was his own man, whose ambition to spread communism around the world played a crucial role in extending the Cold War into Africa from the mid-1960s onwards. Often, the passions let loose by ideology coincided with the energies gathered for nationalist struggles. Some nationalist parties perceived themselves not as pawns or as hapless victims of the superpowers but as major players; they saw the Cold War as an opportunity to advance their own cause.

China

During the 1960s China provided support for all three liberation movements in Angola. In 1963, Holden Roberto (leader of the FNLA) met the Chinese Foreign Minister in Nairobi, and China agreed to provide most of their armaments. In 1964, Jonas Savimbi (leader of UNITA) met Mao in China, where he received military training. In the early 1970s, China also provided training to MPLA guerrillas. However, in a bid to balance the USSR's strong support for the MPLA, China switched its support to the other two movements, especially the FNLA. China's foreign policy in Angola ended up as a failure when the Soviet-backed MPLA came to power. China at first refused to recognise Angola's independence, and only established diplomatic relations with Angola in 1983.

Source E *This is an extract from an interview by David Deutschmann with Jorge Risquet, at the time of Cuba's involvement in Angola. He later became a leading member of the Cuban government. Quoted in David Deutschmann (ed.),* Changing the History of Africa, *Ocean Press, Melbourne, 1989, page 16 (© 1991 Ocean Press). Risquet explains why Cuba decided to help Angola and stresses that they were not following the orders of the Soviet Union.*

Deutschmann: It is said that the Cuban presence in Angola had expansionist aims, and that Cuba was acting as a puppet of the Soviet Union. What is your response to this?
Risquet: It would make no sense for us, a small country, to think about expanding into Angola. This is absurd. Proof of that is that when our presence is no longer needed, we will withdraw. As for material interests, the only thing we have taken from Angola has been the remains of our soldiers who died there. We don't want any of Angola's riches. Those riches are for the people of Angola to use for their development, to provide a pleasant life for those heroic people we love so much, a people for whom we have shed our blood, and alongside whom we have fought for so many years.

The claim that we went to Angola under Moscow's orders is absurd. It was a sovereign decision made in response to a request for aid from Agostinho Neto. Not only was it our decision, we didn't even consult the Soviet Union. There was a communication with the Soviet Union, after our troops were on the way. We asked the Soviet Union for logistical aid for the troops. Our soldiers went with their own weapons, but they needed ammunition. They also needed more weapons as the war grew larger. We asked for, and received, extensive collaboration from the Soviet Union. The USSR, like Cuba, is in solidarity with Angola. It stands on the side of the peoples fighting racism and colonialism, and it supports the cause of their independence.

South Africa

The South African government was anxious to ensure that a left-wing MPLA government did not come to power in Angola. It thought that this would threaten the position of the white-minority governments still in control of South Africa, South West Africa (Namibia) and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). It feared, in particular, that an MPLA government would provide support and bases to the banned African National Congress in exile and would allow SWAPO guerrillas to operate from Angola. SWAPO (the South West African People's Organisation) was fighting against the South African occupation of Namibia. By invading Angola in 1975, South Africa was also trying to demonstrate to the USA that it was a useful anti-communist ally in the Cold War. The effects of South Africa's involvement were to prolong the civil war and to contribute on a massive scale to the destruction of the Angolan economy and the loss of life of Angolan citizens.

Source F *This extract explains the reasons for South Africa's involvement in Angola. It comes from Martin Meredith*, The State of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence, *Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2005, page 316–7.*

In Angola the South African government saw Soviet and Cuban involvement as part of a communist plan to dominate southern Africa. They believed that Angola, under a pro-communist government in Luanda and with Soviet support, was likely to become a springboard for nationalist guerrillas from South West Africa (Namibia) which South Africa controlled. What the South Africans hoped to achieve was the installation of a moderate pro-Western government in Luanda amenable to South African interests. The Angolan theatre also provided South Africa with an opportunity to demonstrate to the US its value as a staunch anti-communist regional power and improve its standing with Washington.

Activity 3: (individual) Investigate the Angolan war in the context of the Cold War

Use the text to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise.

1 Identify the main reasons for the USSR's interest in Angola. (3×1) (3)

2 List four reasons given in the text for South Africa's involvement in Angola. (4×2) (8)

3 a) In what way does Meredith (Source F) reinforce what is said in the text. (3×1) (3)

b) Identify one other reason he gives for South African involvement in Angola. (1×2) (2)

4 Extract information from Source B which shows that the MPLA government was not a 'puppet of the USSR'. (3×2) (6)

5 Explain how the outcome of the Vietnam War affected American involvement in Angola. (4×1) (4)

6 The Americans and South Africans claimed that Cuba was involved in Angola because of pressure from the Soviet Union. Do the text and Sources D and E support this view? Explain your answer in a paragraph. (10)

7 Source D emphasises that we should not see the newly independent African countries simply as victims of Cold War politics. Explain how. (3×1) (3)

8 Explain why China did not continue its involvement in Angola. (4×1) (4)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 6.

The impact on regional stability

The withdrawal of Portugal from Angola in 1975, after 400 years of colonial rule, had an effect on the remaining **white minority regimes** in South Africa and Rhodesia. They could no longer rely on the Portuguese presence in Angola and Mozambique as a buffer between them and the rest of Africa. At the same time, the defeat of the Portuguese gave hope to many black South Africans that change was also possible in the country. The independence of Angola also meant that liberation movements such as the ANC could establish bases closer to home, which was one of the reasons for South Africa's intervention in Angola. The increase in the armed struggle against apartheid, as well as the South African attacks on ANC bases, added to the violence and instability in the region.

New word

white minority regime
a government controlled by whites who form a minority of the population

Source G *This extract describes the impact on the southern African region resulting from invasions from the South African military into neighbouring countries. (From Out of Step: War Resistance in South Africa, the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1989, page 39)*

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference [SADCC] has estimated that the costs of South African destabilisation between 1980 and 1984 were $10 billion. By the end of 1986 the figure had risen to an estimated $19 billion. By 1988 estimates were $35 billion.

The brunt of these costs were borne by the people of Southern Africa. South African aggression and attacks by its surrogates have wreaked havoc on economic infrastructures and transport systems … Governments have been forced to divert scarce resources for development to defence. The Angolan government spends almost three quarters of its national budget on defence. The wars have created tens of thousands of refugees, exacerbating the effects of drought and famine. Approximately 3 million Angolans and 5,5 million Mozambicans have been displaced from their homes. Over 100 000 have died of famine and a further 4,5 million face starvation. Many more thousands have been maimed and killed in battle.

The involvement of large numbers of South African and Cuban soldiers in the civil war in Angola, as well as the huge amounts of weapons that went there, had a destabilising effect on the region. The northern part of Namibia which was used as the base for South African military operations in Angola suffered badly as a result. Hundreds of thousands of refugees from the conflict in Angola poured into neighbouring countries, especially Zaire and Zambia, causing economic problems and instability.

Significance of the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale 1987 and 1988

In November 1987 a battle developed at Cuito Cuanavale, a town in south-eastern Angola. South African troops, in support of UNITA, attacked the town, which was defended by Angolan government forces, supported by Cuban pilots using MIG 23 Soviet planes. It was the biggest battle in Africa since the Second World War. The South Africans lost air superiority to the Cubans, and after a failed attempt to capture the town, were forced to withdraw.

The battle was a turning point in the war in Angola and on developments in Namibia. It brought the war to an end and led to peace negotiations. These resulted in the withdrawal of South African and Cuban forces from Angola and the independence of Namibia. The withdrawal of South African forces destroyed the myth of South Africa's superior military power and forced the government to reassess the situation. Although some members of the South African government and the army claimed that it was a strategic retreat rather than a defeat, most historians believe that it forced the South African government to re-assess its military strength and agree to negotiate a settlement over Namibia.

Source H *This photograph shows a poster of Agostinho Neto with a child soldier sitting underneath it in the city of Huambo, Angola, in 1976. The war affected the lives of everyone including children who were left homeless and sometimes recruited as child soldiers.*

Source I *This extract from* Battle of Cuito Cuanavale 1988 *(South African History Online, www.sahistory.org.za) summarises the main arguments about the outcome of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale.*

The Cuban forces: school of thought on the intentions and the outcomes of the battle

One school of thought (supported by the ANC, Cuba, other liberation movements and several historians) is that South Africa's decision to launch the attack was influenced by their intention to rescue UNITA and their want to seize the town of Cuito Cuanavale through the capture of the air force base. It is argued that the actions of the SADF prior to the 23 March 1988 are clear evidence of their determination to break-through to the town. The SADF forces attacked Cuito with the massive 155mm G-5 guns and staged attack after attack led by the crack 61st mechanized battalion, 32 Buffalo battalion, and later 4th SA Infantry group. On the 23rd March the battle reached a halt … According to this view, the SADF failed in its intention and was successfully thwarted by the combined Angolan forces. This view is supported by Horace Campbell, Hasu Patel, P Gleijeses, Ronnie Kasrils and others.

The SADF forces: school of thought on the intentions and the outcomes of the battle

The second school of thought maintains that the SADF had only limited objectives, namely, to halt the enemy at Cuito, to prevent its airstrip from being used, and then to retreat. Further action would have undermined negotiations between Cuba, Angola and South Africa, which began in London early in 1988 and continued in May in Brazzaville, Congo, and Cairo, Egypt. By this time, the South African government had already recognised the political change in Russia and the ending of the cold war. Gen. Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the SADF, stated that the most important battle in the campaign was when the Cubans were defeated at the Lomba River and Cuito Cuanavale was simply part of a mopping up operation after this battle. This view is also supported by Gen. Magnus Malan, South African minister of defence at the time. Following this the SADF's intention was to prevent the capture of Mavinga and through that prevent assaults on Jamba. This was successfully accomplished. This view is supported by the SADF and several historians such as Fred Bridgeland, W.M. James and others.

Source J *This article called 'Cuito Cuanavale revisited' was published in the* Mail and Guardian *11, July 2007. It was written to mark the 20th anniversary of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale by Piero Gleijeses, who is professor of US foreign policy at Johns Hopkins University in Washington DC in the USA. He based his analysis on documents from the Cuban and American archives which both told a similar version of events. The South African government's documents were still classified at this time.*

By early 1988, South African military sources and Western diplomats were confident that the fall of Cuito was imminent. This would have dealt a devastating blow to the Angolan government.

But on November 15, 1987, Cuban President Fidel Castro had decided to send more troops and weapons to Angola – his best planes with his best pilots, his most sophisticated anti-aircraft weapons and his most modern tanks. Castro's goal was not merely to defend Cuito, it was to force the SADF out of Angola once and for all.

Cuban planes and 1500 Cuban solders reinforced the Angolans, and Cuito did not fall. On March 23 1988, the SADF launched its last major attack on the town. As Colonel Jan Breytenbach writes, the South African assault 'was brought to a grinding and definite halt' by the combined Cuban and Angolan forces.

Now powerful Cuban columns were marching through south-western Angola toward the Namibian border. The documents telling us what the South African leaders thought about this threat are still classified. But we know what the SADF did: it gave ground.

The changing nature of international relationships after 1989

In the late 1980s the Cold War started to come to an end. (You will learn about this in Topic 6). One result of this was that the superpowers were anxious to bring the war in Angola to an end. The US put pressure on South Africa, and the USSR put pressure on Cuba, to reach an agreement. This led to the signing of the Angola-Namibia Peace Accords in December 1989. These accords led to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, and of South African forces from Angola and Namibia, and the independence of Namibia from South African control in 1990. The end of the Cold War also played a role in the end of apartheid in South Africa. The apartheid government could no longer use the justification of its anti-communist stance to get Western support. As a result, it agreed to negotiate with the ANC. (You will learn more about this in Topic 5.)

However, in spite of the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops, attempts to establish a lasting peace in Angola were unsuccessful. UNITA forces continued to fight against the MPLA government. The civil war only came to an end after Savimbi's death in 2002.

Activity 4: (groups) Assess the impact of the Angolan conflict

1 Who is the author of Source J? According to Source I, identify which 'school of thought' he supports. (2×1) (2)
2 Identify the evidence on which Piero Gleijeses (Source J) bases his article and assess whether this makes his argument more trustworthy. (2×2) (4)
3 Use the text to explain how the withdrawal of Portugal from Angola and Mozambique affected the power relations in the region. (3×1) (3)
4 Use the information in the text and Sources G and H to explain the destabilisation of the region. (8)
5 In his memoirs Magnus Malan, the then South African Minister of Defence, said that the campaign marked a great victory for the South African Defence Force but Nelson Mandela disagreed and said that Cuito Cuanavale was 'the turning point for the liberation of our continent – and of my people – from the scourge of apartheid'. Use the information in Source I to explain the reasons behind each man's view. (2×4) (8)
6 Read the Skills Support information on 'How to assess the value and limitations of secondary sources' and then answer this question. Using Source G and I, explain why secondary sources are useful as historical evidence when studying this period. (10)
7 Use the text to explain what the Angola-Namibia Peace Accords were. (3×1) (3)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for questions 4 and 6.

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to analyse the value and limitations of secondary sources

What is a secondary source?

A secondary source is any account of an historical event which is created after the event occurred. They are usually written sources and give descriptions, interpretations, or analyses of what happened in the past.

What value are secondary sources as sources of evidence?

Secondary sources can give thorough and interesting content and analyses, as they draw on large amounts of evidence. They can explain broad trends, give summaries, make comparisons, and give overviews. They can be objective and give balanced accounts. They have the benefit of hindsight. The account may be more objective as the writer is not involved in the events being analysed. The writer has had the benefit of consulting a range of primary sources on the event.

What are the limitations of secondary as sources of evidence?

Secondary sources can be one-sided. They can reflect the point of view of the writer. They seldom show the emotional impact of the events on people's lives.

Assessment

This can be assessed as part of the formal assessment task for Term 1 or 2.

(individual) Write an essay on Africa: Congo and Tanzania

1 Work through the information below on how to write an essay before you do step 2 below. You can also refer back to the information on how to identify different types of essay questions at the end of Unit 6.1.

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to approach essay writing

Read the question carefully

- Identify the key words, and see how many parts there are to the question. If the verbs say 'outline' or 'describe', your main task is to give a factual account of what happened. If it uses 'assess', 'analyse' or 'discuss', you have to make an argument throughout your essay.
- Sometimes questions ask you to explain more than one thing. Make sure you answer all the parts of the question.

Plan your essay

- Brainstorm (write down without judging) all the ideas you have on the topic.
- Look at all your ideas and see which ones link together; they will go into one category or group. Arrange the ideas into the various groups. (These categories will form the different paragraphs of your essay.)
- Sort through the material. Decide what is relevant to the question you have been given. This is a very important step. You must select the information that is relevant to the question asked and not just write everything you know about the topic in general.
- Decide in what order the information should progress. There must be logical connections from one paragraph to the next.

- Now you have your categories and the order of the information that the essay will follow. Add more factual detail where you think there are gaps.

The introduction

- Your introduction must relate directly to the topic, and show the overall argument you will develop through the essay.
- It is important to write a strong, powerful, clear introduction, particularly in examination essays. A marker can see very clearly from your introduction whether you understand what is required or not. So it is important to think carefully about what you will say before you start writing. It should be about 5 to 7 lines.

Body of the essay

- The essay must be structured in paragraphs. (Leave a line between each paragraph, and indent the first line of the new paragraph.) The first sentence of a paragraph will usually state the topic/main issue of that paragraph. The rest of the paragraph will back it up with evidence. The last sentence could make a link to the content of the paragraph that follows it.
- One issue should be fully explained before moving on to the next one.
- The explanation or description must develop carefully and logically from one paragraph to the next.
- Refer to the question directly in most paragraphs. This will make you build your argument, and will make sure your work is relevant.
- Even though you take a position with regard to the topic, your argument must show knowledge of all the other points of view. By showing these, you will build a stronger case for your own position.
- Support your general comments and insights with thorough factual detail.

Conclusion

- Do not start with ‘in conclusion’ or ‘thus we can see’.
- Keep it brief and link it back to the question. It will be similar to the introduction.

Points about style

- Remember that someone else will read your work. They must understand what you are saying. You need to make yourself clear.

- You must write in full sentences and use paragraphs to structure your writing.
- Express yourself concisely. Cut out repetition in your expression.
- Do not use headings.
- Avoid using 'I' or 'we'.
- Do not use numbers. If you want to list information, you must use 'First/Firstly', 'Second/Secondly', etc.
- Do not use slang, short-hand expression or abbreviations. This is an academic essay and must be written in a formal style.

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2 Before you do your formal assessment essay, you need to write practice essays.

Below are two essay questions: one on the Congo and one on Tanzania. All your essays in the examination are marked according to an essay rubric – see this after Topic 6 of your textbook.

Use the information you learned about in Unit 2.2 and 2.3 to write an essay of about 800–1 000 words on the following:

2.1 'The Congo was vulnerable to outside interference after independence because of its vast mineral wealth.' To what extent is this an accurate assessment of the difficulties which faced the Congo after independence?

2.2 Examine Nyerere's visions and achievements in independent Tanzania and assess whether he deserves the title of 'Mwalimu'.

Once you have written your essay, get into pairs and read each others essays. Give each other feedback on what was done well and what still needs improvement. Give each other a mark based on the rubric after Topic 6 of your textbook.

3 Now you are ready to write the essay that will form part of your formal assessment.

Choose one of these topics and write an essay of about 800–1 000 words.

3.1 '*The politics of the Cold War destroyed Lumumba but created opportunities for Mobuto*'.

Discuss the accuracy of this statement by examining the policies and actions of Lumumba and Mobuto and how each dealt with divisions and Cold War interference in the country. [50]

3.2 '*African socialism was an idealistic vision that proved impossible to achieve.*' Assess the accuracy of this statement. In your answer, explain why Nyerere chose this policy in the 1960s, what it involved, and why, by the 1980s, it had failed. [50]

TOPIC 3 Civil society protest 1950s to 1970s

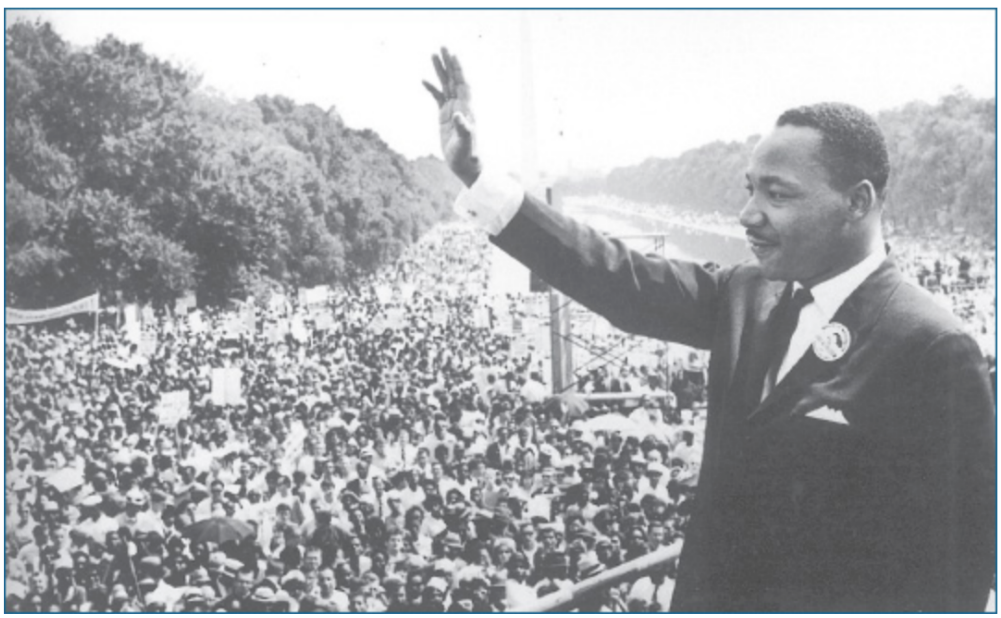
What forms of civil society protests emerged from the 1950s to 1970s?

BETWEEN THE 1950s and 1970s, large-scale protest movements against social injustice were held. These protests were organised by ordinary members of the public (i.e. civil society). Although the protests varied in their goals and methods, they all showed governments that public opinion mattered and could bring about significant changes.

These protests became widespread in the United States in the 1960s. They included the women's movement against gender discrimination, which was becoming obvious as more women took up paid work outside the home, and the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements against racial discrimination. There were also protests against the war that the US government waged in Vietnam, and many of these protests were led by students and the youth.

These protests also had an important influence elsewhere. Peace campaigns against the use of nuclear weapons and movements for women's rights spread throughout the Western world. Youth were critical of their parents' generation and a counter-culture started to emerge. In 1968, student protestors demanded social change on every continent, although not always successfully.

In South Africa, women played a major role in the protest movements against apartheid. South African women were also standing up for their rights as women, although divisions of race and class meant that not all women had the same aims and used the same tactics.



At the end of the Washington March, 250 000 people gathered at the Lincoln Memorial in the capital of the United States, Washington DC. The crowd, of all religious and ethnic backgrounds, stood peacefully listening to protest songs and

speakers. It was at this gathering that Martin Luther King Jr, shown in the foreground of this photo, made his famous speech, 'I have a dream'.

Timeline for Topic 3

1954	US Supreme Court ruling against segregated schools
1955	Montgomery Bus Boycott
1956	Women's anti-pass march to Pretoria; US Supreme Court ruling against segregated buses
1957	Court ruling on desegregation of Little Rock High School, Arkansas
1958	Formation of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
1960	Start of 'sit-in' protests by Civil Rights Protesters
1963	Civil Rights March in Washington DC; Birmingham Campaign
1964	Civil Rights Act in the USA outlawing discrimination on the grounds of race and gender; Freedom Summer
1965	Voting Rights Act in the USA; Selma to Montgomery march; Riots in Watts, Los Angeles; assassination of Malcolm X
1966	Formation of National Organisation for Women; formation of Black Panthers
1967	Riots in many US cities (e.g. Detroit, Newark)
1968	Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr; student protests in Paris
1970	Shootings of anti-Vietnam War protestors at Kent State University in US

Timeline tasks

1 List the US cities mentioned on this timeline.
2 What evidence is there that the US government and courts supported desegregation?
3 What evidence is there of violence in the USA during this period?
4 Why would both the Women's Movement and the Civil Rights Movement have considered 1964 to be a milestone in their struggles for equality?

Unit 3.1 is for school-based assessment and will not be assessed in the examination.

The Second World War (1939–45) had been fought for freedom and human rights, but in the decades after the war many people in Western countries felt that there was no true democracy and equality in their own societies. This led to the growth of mass protests by ordinary people which gained in strength in the 1960s.

The Women's Liberation and Feminist Movements in the 1960s and 1970s

During the 1960s a powerful Women's Movement emerged in several Western countries. It started in the United States, where it was not a single organisation, but many different groups that were united by common aims to improve the status of women and end discrimination based on gender.

The position of women in the 1950s

During the 1950s, middle class women in Western countries were expected to stay at home and raise families. Some women did work, but they had a limited number of careers to choose from. Women could be nurses but not doctors, flight attendants but not pilots. In offices and factories, women were seldom promoted (95% of managers were men). They worked longer hours and were paid less than men (on average 40% of the salaries of men, even for the same work). When women got married, they would usually lose their jobs. Their skills were often undermined by sexist attitudes and sexual harassment. The public image of women was that they should marry and raise a family. Most women did not question this view of their position in society.

The start of the Women's Movement in the USA

In the 1960s the attitude of women began to change. Many young women were not prepared to accept their inferior position in the work place, or the restricted view of what a 'good' woman should be. They wanted greater independence on a personal level and in public. This new attitude was partly inspired by the publication of a book in 1963, called *The Feminine Mystique*, by Betty Friedan. She argued that the American middle class home had become a 'comfortable concentration camp' for women. The book was immensely popular and people began to speak of '**Women's Liberation**'.

Key words

Women's Liberation
freeing women from restrictive controls of a male-dominated society (socially, economically and politically)

Source A *From the manifesto of an early radical women's group of the 1960s; quoted in Anna Coote and Beatrix Campbell*, Sweet Freedom: The Struggle for Women's Liberation, *London, 1982, page 15*

> Women are an oppressed class … We are exploited as sex objects, breeders, domestic servants and cheap labour … our prescribed behaviour is enforced with threats of physical violence. Because we have lived so intimately with our oppressors, in isolation from each other, we have been kept from seeing our personal suffering as a political condition.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination on the grounds of gender and also of race. But many women felt that the law was not being properly applied. So in 1966 Friedan and others set up the National Organisation for Women (NOW). NOW held peaceful demonstrations and used petitions, strikes and legal actions to force employers to give women greater equality in the workplace. They campaigned to have laws changed and challenged discrimination in the courts. They also **lobbied** for maternity leave and childcare centres to make it possible for women to follow a career. They encouraged married women to keep their own surnames.

Source B *This is an extract from the NOW Bill of Rights which was adopted at the NOW National Convention in 1967. NOW saw itself as a civil rights group for women. It ran campaigns to increase public awareness, backed gender discrimination law suits and lobbied for equal opportunities for women.*

1 Equal Rights Constitutional Amendment
2 Enforce Law Banning Sex Discrimination in Employment
3 Maternity Leave Rights in Employment and Social Security
4 Tax Deduction for Working Parents
5 Child Day Care Centres
6 Equal and Unsegregated Education
7 Equal Job Training Opportunities and Allowances for Women in Poverty
8 The Right of Women to Control Their Reproductive Lives

The Women's Liberation Movement

Some **feminists** believed that NOW and the older generation of leaders were not radical enough. So they adopted more forceful tactics and became known as the Women's Liberation Movement (or Women's Lib). They saw 'consciousness-raising' as an important part of their work. They formed discussion groups to encourage women to express their feelings and ideas, and to develop ways to change the situation.

Key words

lobby
to try to influence influential business and government leaders in order to bring about change

feminist
someone who fights for women's rights and freedom of choice and who believes in gender equality

Feminists protested against male sexism by invading all-male clubs and bars, and burning men's maga-

zines which they said exploited women. They also challenged society's representation of women. In a widely-publicised protest in 1968, they targeted the Miss World pageant. To show their disgust at the limited image of womanhood represented, they paraded a sheep and crowned it 'Miss America'. And to symbolise their refusal to be trapped by conventional restrictions, they burnt their bras and threw their stockings, high-heeled shoes, corsets, false eyelashes, hair curlers and cosmetics in rubbish bins. These tactics resulted in widespread publicity and also criticism of the movement.

Source C *This photograph shows women opposing the 1968 Miss America pageant. They were against the way this contest and the media in general reduced women to being objects of beauty and their role in life being to please men. They wanted women to be respected for their abilities and contributions to society.*

Many working class women did not identify with these feminist campaigns, but they did support issues such as 'equal pay for equal work' and the need to build child care facilities. But it was the protests of feminist groups that ensured that this was put into practice. Many African American women were more involved in the Civil Rights Movement because they felt that gaining racial equality was more urgent than getting gender equality.

Source D *From the writing of the feminist historian, Rosalind Miles*, The Women's History of the World, *Paladin, London, 1989, page 283*

> For some black women activists, feminism was a sideshow, a distraction from the real battle, the real enemy: racism… What black women are saying is very clear: that although all women share common oppression as women, not all women are equally oppressed.

'The Pill' and abortion

A development which changed the lives of millions of women in the 1960s was the development of the birth control pill. Before this, women had few effective methods of controlling pregnancy, and so they could not pursue careers easily. Many had dangerous illegal abortions. The development of 'the Pill' meant that women had more control over their own lives.

In the early 1970s, feminists challenged the laws prohibiting abortion. As a result, abortion became

available in many states, despite strong opposition.

Therefore, to the issues of equal pay and equal rights to work were added the more controversial ones of contraception and abortion, and the ethical issues that they raised.

Women's protests in other parts of the world

Similar Women's Movement protests took place in Britain. In 1968 a group of women workers at a Ford factory in Britain went on strike for equal pay. They won support from their trade union and from the public. Women in Britain formed the National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights, and organised an equal pay rally in Trafalgar Square. As a result, an Equal Pay Act was passed the following year.

In other Western European countries women protested about similar issues. Women in Italy and France took part in huge protest marches, demanding changes to divorce and abortion laws. In both countries, the ban on abortion was finally lifted.

The success of the Women's Liberation Movement opened up a larger world of choices and opportunities for millions of women. However, it remained largely a middle-class movement confined to industrialised societies. In developing countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia it had much less impact.

Activity 1: (pairs) Examine the actions of the feminist movement

Use Sources A–D and the text to answer these questions unless otherwise instructed.

1 Identify the new emphasis which the Women's Liberation Movement brought. (4×1) (4)
2 Use the text and Source C to identify the issues which feminists were highlighting in their protest against the Miss World pageant in 1968. (4×1) (4)
3 Suggest why the formation of NOW was so important. Use the text and Source B to support your answer. (5×1) (5)
4 Suggest why feminism had little impact in developing countries. (3×2) (6)
5 Use the text and Source A to help you to describe the ways in which women were discriminated against in the 1950s. (4×2) (8)
6 Explain why the feminist movement saw the introduction of the contraceptive pill and the legalisation of abortion as victories. (4×1) (4)
7 a) Discuss the protest actions which led to the passing of the Equal Pay Act in Britain. (3×1) (3)
   b) Explain why this was significant. (2×1) (2)
8 Assess whether feminism improved the lives of working-class women. (4×1) (4)

Women's identity and civil protest in South Africa from the 1950s to the 1970s

In South Africa women also played an important part in civil society protest between the 1950s and the 1970s. However, the position of women in South Africa differed from that of North American and European societies.

How women saw themselves

At this time apartheid was at its height. This meant that South Africans of differing races were in very different political, economic and social circumstances. It was difficult for South African women to unite around gender issues (issues that affected them as women) when apartheid divided them by race. Many South African women thought of their *identity* (that is, what shaped their ideas, actions and beliefs) in terms of race (for example as black or white) rather than in terms of *gender* (as women).

For example, many black women played an important part in civil protests against apartheid oppression of black South Africans, such as the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s or the protests against passes which led to the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 (you learnt about these in Grade 11), but these movements often did not specifically address women's issues. The need for freedom from racial discrimination often overrode the grievances of gender discrimination.

However, some of these protests called for women's rights as well as for social justice and racial equality, as discussed in the sections that follow.

Women workers and trade unionism

By the 1950s an increasing number of women were entering wage employment. In 1952, black (defined as African and Coloured) women in the industrial labour force outnumbered white women for the first time. As a result women became more prominent in the trade unions, especially in the food processing and textile industries. However, in the 1940s most unions had been separated by race. Some women began to challenge this situation.

A good example of this was the Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU), which had been established in 1941 by Ray Alexander, an immigrant from Lithuania. Its members were of all races, and were mainly female. FCWU not only fought for workers' rights, such as better pay and working conditions, but also **politicised** many of its members in a radical and non-racial tradition. It played an important part in the founding of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in 1955, an organisation of workers which fought against apartheid laws and which included many women workers.

Key word
politicise to make people aware of political issues

Although the activities of the trade unions were limited by government opposition until the 1970s, they played an important part in the emergence of women's movements.

Source E *This photograph shows women at the conference of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) held in Johannesburg in 1954. The posters show their resistance to government policies and their promotion of education, homes, trade unions and equal rights over children and property.*

Women in the rural areas and the informal sector

Most women did not work in paid employment but were based in the rural areas and the informal sector (for example as hawkers or running shebeens in the townships). The migrant labour system meant that many African men were away from home for much of the year and women made up the majority of rural peasant farmers.

It was more difficult to organise protest campaigns amongst these women because they were scattered across the reserves, homelands and townships. In spite of this, women protested about issues which affected them directly. For example, in 1957 women in the rural area of Zeerust (in North West Province today) refused to carry passes and demanded that a chief who had been deposed by the government for supporting them should be given back his position as chief. The police moved in and many women were arrested. Hundreds of women fled and crossed into neighbouring British Bechuanaland (later Botswana). As one woman said, 'I have had to hide in the fields and in the hills … like an animal. We decided to flee the Union rather than have passes.'

In the townships, women involved in illegal beer-brewing protested against the destruction of their shebeens and the state-run municipal beer halls that took away their income. In Cato Manor township near Durban in 1959 these women destroyed many beer halls and forced people to **boycott** others. Similar protests broke out in other parts of what is now KwaZulu-Natal.

New word
boycott to refuse to use, buy or have anything to do with something as a form of protest

Women in anti-pass campaigns

The issue which led to most civil protest by women across South Africa was the announcement by the government in 1954 that black women would have to carry passes in the way that men did. This led to the foundation of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW), a non-racial organisation that placed women's issues first and called for women across the country to unite across racial and class divides. Its executive committee included Lilian Ngoyi, an African trade unionist and president of the ANC Women's League, Helen Joseph, a white political and human rights activist and Fatima Meer, an Indian women's rights campaigner from Durban.

FSAW organised a series of peaceful anti-pass protests by women across the country. On 9 August 1956 it co-ordinated a march of 20 000 women of all races to Pretoria to deliver thousands of letters of protest to the government. The song they sang, commonly know as 'You strike a woman, you strike a rock!', came to represent the role of women in civil political protests throughout the apartheid era. Today this event is celebrated as Women's Day and is a national holiday.

Source F *This photograph shows some of the thousands of women protestors against pass laws at the Union Buildings in 1956. This was the largest national protest by women against unjust apartheid laws that particularly affected them. This open defiance by traditionally subordinate women made a big impact.*

Initiatives within the liberation struggle

The Federation of South African Women (FSAW) was closely linked to the liberation movement. At its opening session, the FSAW president, Ida Mtwana, stated:

'We know that as women we have many problems which hold us back from taking part fully in the struggle for freedom, and it is precisely for that purpose that we have come to break down these problems.'

FSAW drew up a Women's Charter, which combined a feminist concern about social equality for women with the need to join the liberation struggle against apartheid.

Source G *This photograph shows Rahina Moosa, Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph and Sophie Williams, the leaders of the 20 000 women who gathered at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, where they handed over petitions from all over the country to the Prime Minister, J.G. Strijdom. They were protesting against women carrying passes and the Bantu Education system. The leaders were deliberately chosen from different races, as the women wanted to show the government that the different races could work together.*

Source H *This is an extract from the Women's Charter as quoted in Cherryl Walker*, Women and Resistance in South Africa, *Onyx Press, London, 1982, page 156. The Charter refers to the subordination of women. Many women felt that black women were oppressed in three ways: first because they were black, then because they were poor and finally because they were women.*

> We women do not form a society separate from men … as women we share the problems and anxieties of our men and join hands with them to remove social evils and obstacles to progress … As members of the National Liberation movements and Trade Unions we march forward with our men in the struggle for liberation and the defence of the working people … As women there rests upon us also the burden of removing from our society all the social differences developed in past times between men and women which have the effect of keeping our sex in a position of inferiority and subordination.

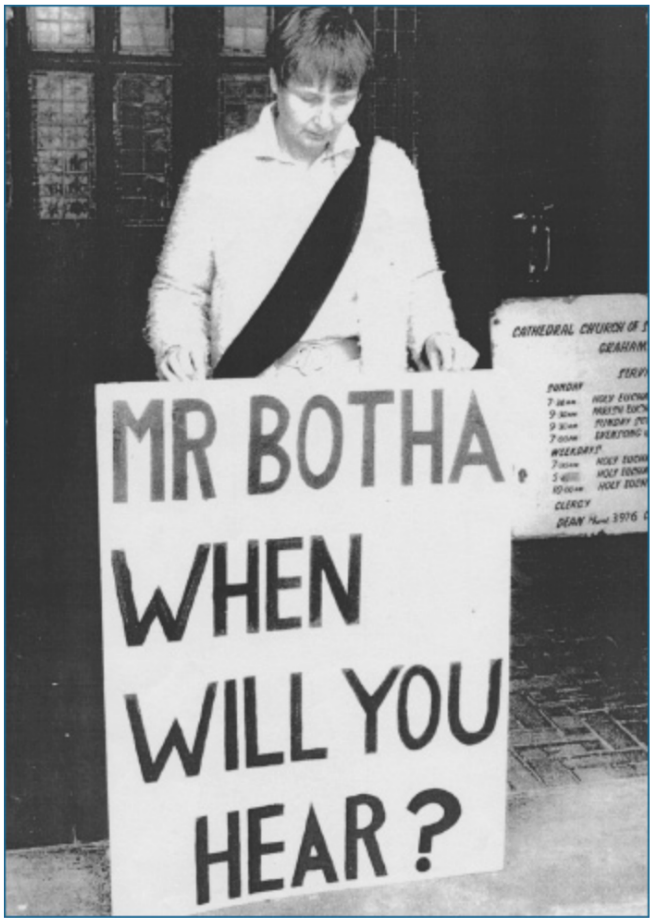
Through Lilian Ngoyi, the FSAW had close links with the ANC's Women's League which had been formed in 1948, a few years after women were first admitted as ANC members in 1943. In 1956 Ngoyi was elected to the ANC executive. However, the ANCWL was banned together with the ANC in 1960.

The middle-class Black Sash movement

During the 1960s and early 1970s severe state oppression reduced all resistance, including women's civil protest actions. During these years the Black Sash, an organisation of middle-class and predominantly white women founded in 1955, organised silent public protests against discriminatory apartheid legislation and ran advisory offices to help people affected by the pass laws. Although the Black Sash helped many women, they did not focus especially on women's issues.

Many white middle-class Black Sash members did not want radical social or political change. They were supporters of white opposition parties in Parliament rather than liberation movements such as the ANC or the more radical FSAW. In this, they had more in common with white men than with black women.

South African women played an important part in the civil rights protests from the 1950s to the 1970s, but there were differences in the ways in which black and white women reacted. Many black women felt that feminism and women's issues were less relevant to them than the broader struggle against racism and total opposition to the white government. Fewer white women were prepared to participate in civil protest movements, although there were some notable exceptions such as Ruth First and Helen Joseph, who were both charged with treason by the Government in the famous Treason Trial. This trial lasted from 1956 to 1961. Some white middle-class Black Sash women made peaceful protests against unjust laws. However, the Black Sash still recognized the authority of the white government and tried to work to change its laws and policies rather than to overthrow it altogether.



*The Black Sash was founded by white women in 1955 to oppose government plans to **disenfranchise** coloured voters. Members staged silent protests, wearing black sashes as a symbol of mourning for the constitution which they thought was being violated.*

New word
disenfranchise to take away the voting rights of a group of people

Civil protest and women after 1976

The growing importance of women's issues was first shown by non-racial organisations such as the FSAW in the 1950s.

After the Soweto uprising of 1976, civil protest actions against apartheid gathered new momentum

which continued on to the massive civil unrest of the 1980s. Women played a key role in many of these protests and some joined *Umkhonto we Sizwe* as soldiers and fought for liberation in this way. The need for freedom from racial discrimination often overruled the grievances of gender discrimination. Nonetheless, the actions of women in the liberation struggles meant that gender equality became a goal of the new democratic government in 1994.

Activity 2: (individual) Assess the role of women in South African civil protest between the 1950s and 1970s

Use the information in the text to answer these questions, along with specific sources where indicated:

1 Clarify what the Black Sash was and describe how it helped women. (4×1) (4)
2 Use Source F and the text to explain why the issue of gender seemed less important in civil society protests in South Africa. (3×1) (3)
3 Explain why the Food and Canning Workers Union was unusual and significant. (4×1) (4)
4 Assess the significance of the protest by women in the rural area of Zeerust. (4×1) (4)
5 Explain why the municipal beer halls were targeted in the Cato Manor uprising. (4×1) (4)
6 Use Source H and the text to explain the importance of FSAW and the ANC Women's League in putting women's issues on the national agenda. (4×1) (4)

THINK AND DISCUSS: Do you think women's movements have successfully improved the lives of women and changed the status of women in society? Think about issues such as equality before the law, work and career opportunities, cultural attitudes and representation in the media.

The peace movements: The disarmament, students' and anti-war movements

A major concern in the 1960s was that the Cold War would become 'hot' and that the superpowers would use their nuclear weapons against each other. Protest movements emerged against the use of nuclear weapons in the 1950s. Many students felt alienated by the Cold War mentality of their parents' generation and challenged the dominant values of the societies in which they lived. In the 1960s a strong anti-war protest movement developed to oppose American involvement in the Vietnam War.

Source I *The peace movement spread throughout the world and marches were held in most major cities. In this photograph Australians participate in a Peace march in 1964, in Brisbane, Australia. They walk with a 'Ban the Bomb' banner. The famous 'peace' symbol can be seen on the shirt of the man at the back.*

The disarmament movement

By the 1950s, both sides in the Cold War had developed nuclear weapons which made the threat of nuclear warfare very real. People started to protest against the development and storage of these weapons. They were also concerned about the environmental damage caused by nuclear tests.

In 1958, people in Britain formed the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) as a mass political protest movement. The CND organised a four-day protest march from London to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston, and adopted the famous peace symbol as its logo. Each year the annual Aldermaston marches attracted more and more support.

Branches of the CND sprang up all over Britain and the idea spread to other countries. By the early 1960s, anti-nuclear protests in different parts of the world were supported by hundreds of thousands of people. They were sometimes referred to as 'Ban the Bomb' marches. Protesters also organised actions such as mass sit-ins and blockades of places where nuclear weapons were stored. Even in the Soviet Union, where public protest was difficult, there was concern about nuclear weapons, especially among some scientists. During the 1960s, support for the disarmament movement declined as protestors focused their attention on the Vietnam War.

The students' movement

The young people who grew up in the 1960s were called the 'baby boomers'. They were the generation that was born just after the Second World War, when there was a surge in the birth rate in the USA and Western Europe. They grew up in a world that was more prosperous, and one in which they had greater opportunities for a better education, than their parents' generation. Many of them questioned the conservative values of their parents' generation and they protested to bring about change in Western society.

By the mid-1960s, millions of these young people were studying at universities and colleges. In the US, Britain and France and other developed countries, the numbers of students entering university had doubled or tripled since 1945. Universities did not have the facilities to cope with so many students, and many campuses became overcrowded. Many students became dissatisfied with the education system and

the way the universities were run. They also began to question the authority of their parents, the education system, the attitudes and values of their society, and the governments in power. They challenged traditional structures and began to demand a far bigger role in society. In many countries, television made students more aware of global issues and of political and social problems.

In the USA, it was the Civil Rights Movement that triggered student awareness of problems in their society. Many of them joined an organisation called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In 1964, students all over the country organised rallies and campaigns to support the Civil Rights Movement. When some universities tried to ban the protests, students organised 'free speech' campaigns to demand the right to protest. Student groups challenged the autocratic way in which universities were run, they supported nuclear disarmament campaigns, and, above all, they drove the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Some students protested by 'dropping out' of society and becoming 'hippies'. They rejected conformity and the materialism of society. Two of their slogans were 'Don't trust anyone over 30' and 'Make love, not war'. Some of them lived in communes, spoke about peace and love, wore psychedelic colours, and experimented with drugs and sex. Thousands flocked to San Francisco in 1967 for a 'Summer of Love', and in 1969 to the iconic Woodstock Festival in New York State, which was billed as 'Three Days of Peace and Music'. Many conservative Americans saw these activities as a serious challenge to the traditional values of society.

Source J *This is a 1969 photograph of the famous British musician John Lennon, of the Beatles, and his wife Yoko Ono. They staged a 'bed-in' by remaining in their hotel bedroom for a week and invited the media to film them. The celebrity couple hoped to raise support for their campaign to promote peace, and as a protest against the Vietnam War. Lennon's song 'Give peace a chance' became a popular anthem for peace.*

Similar student protests took place in other parts of the world. They reached a peak in 1968. Students were united in their opposition to the war in Vietnam. Some adopted more revolutionary ideas such as popular uprisings against capitalism, and looked on figures like Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh as their heroes. Autocratic university organisation and conditions were other issues of concern. Students demanded greater participation in the decisions of the university administration and a transformation of the curriculum to include more socially relevant topics.

Source K *Today Tariq Ali is a writer, editor and film-maker. He was one of the leaders of the youth who were involved in activism in the 1960s. This extract comes from the book written by him and Susan Watkins*, 1968: Marching in the Streets, *Bloomsbury, 1998, pages 7–8.*

Nineteen sixty-eight was an attempt to create a new world, a new starting point for politics, for culture, for personal relations. We believed that people should be measured not by 'success' or material possessions, but by the humanity of their aspirations, that the economy should be reorganised to serve the interests of the many, not the few, and that the destiny of socialism was inseparably intertwined with real freedom and meaningful democracy. The world should be rebuilt anew so that it served the interests of the majority.

It was in Paris in 1968 that the most violent protests took place. Student demands included wider access to education for working-class students, reforms in teaching methods, course content and examinations, and the right to elect student representatives. When the authorities closed the Sorbonne, thousands of students demonstrated in the Latin Quarter, the historic centre of Paris. Violent clashes took place between riot police and students. The protests went on for two months, and the country almost came to a standstill when nine million workers went on strike, partly out of sympathy for the students. Eventually the government reasserted control and promised to modernise the universities.

By the end of 1970, the student protests had died down, partly because the US government had decided to withdraw its troops from Vietnam. As a result of the protests, young people had earned new rights and new opportunities. In many countries the voting age was lowered from 21 to 18, so they now had a political voice. They also had more social freedom and greater say in their education.

Activity 3: (groups) Analyse the nature and role of the peace and student movements

Use the information in the text and Source K to answer questions 1 to 5:

1	List the issues which the more political, radical students questioned.	(4×2) (8)
2	Explain how the hippies and other so-called 'drop-outs' challenged the traditional values of society.	(3×1) (3)
3	Discuss the accuracy of the following statement: 'The Nuclear Disarmament movement was small and relatively unimportant.'	(4×1) (4)
4	Analyse the nature of student protests and why so much protest started at the universities.	(5×1) (5)
5	Analyse why the French government became involved in the student protests in Paris.	(3×1) (3)
6	Explain how the protest shown in Source J was anti-war.	(2×1) (2)

The anti-Vietnam War movement

A strong protest movement against American involvement in Vietnam emerged in the 1960s. It started on the campuses of American universities and then spread to other sections of American society, including Vietnam veterans. There were also anti-Vietnam War protests in other countries, as anger mounted against American actions.

At first, opposition to American involvement in Vietnam was small. But this began to change as half-a-million troops were sent, and the number of casualties began to rise. People started to question why

America was involved in Vietnam and why it was spending so much money on a war which it seemed unable to win. Through extensive media coverage, people saw the devastation and suffering that the war was causing in Vietnam. Scenes of injured children, terrified villagers, fleeing refugees and wounded American soldiers made a big impact. Some worried about the negative impact of the war on American relations with the rest of the world. In 1965, 25 000 people attended a rally in Washington DC to protest against what they believed was an unjust and unnecessary war. In the next few years, thousands more protestors took part in anti-war marches around the country. In 1969, more than 250 000 joined a massive anti-war demonstration in the capital.

Many young people joined the peace movement and promoted the idea of 'make love not war'. Their slogan of 'Flower Power' is symbolised in this photograph.

The US government introduced conscription (called the **draft**) to raise troops to send to Vietnam. Some men burnt their draft cards in protest; others refused to go and fight and became 'draft dodgers'. By 1968, between 50 000 and 100 000 draft dodgers had moved to countries like Canada, Sweden, France and the Netherlands. There were acts of defiance too from men who had fought in Vietnam. In 1971, over 1 000 Vietnam **veterans** went to Washington and publicly threw their military medals at the **Capitol** building, denouncing the war as they did so.

New words

draft
The American term for conscription, compulsory military service

veterans
former soldiers who fought in a war

Capitol
building in Washington DC where the US congress (parliament) is situated

Source L *In 1968 a Senate Commission investigated the violent clashes at the Democratic Party Convention between anti-war demonstrators and the police. This is testimony given to the commission from a leader of Students for a Democratic Society, Tom Hayden.*

In Vietnam we saw an international dimension to the violence and racism we were already seeing at home … Moreover, our own professors were using their so-called academic freedom to perfect methods of torture, methods of chemical and biological warfare … From the viewpoint of America's rulers, apparently, universities are indispensable to the modern military effort, and students must be trained to accept the status quo and carry it on …

Look at the situation of a student … He has no vote. His voice does not count … Attempts to work within the system have been frustrated, and the student is not able to ignore the war for two basic reasons … first the draft, and second the transformation of the university into an instrument of American foreign policy … From a position of expecting idealistically that the authorities would listen to us, we were moving towards questioning the legitimacy of authority … towards confrontation.

There were strikes and demonstrations on university campuses all over the country. Some protestors burned the American flag as a sign of their disgust at their country's policies. The most serious anti-war protests occurred in 1970 when the new president, Richard Nixon, announced that the USA was extending the war into Cambodia, Vietnam's neighbour. At Kent State University in Ohio, soldiers fired at protesting students, killing four and wounding others. People around America were horrified. Over 400 universities were closed as two million students went on strike. In further protests, more students were killed.

Civil Rights leaders, such as Martin Luther King, criticised the government for spending money that could have been spent on relieving poverty at home. Billions of dollars were spent on the war, while spending on education, housing and healthcare in the US was cut back. They also spoke out against the drafting of large numbers of African Americans.

Source M *These are two extracts from speeches made by Martin Luther King Jr, in 1967 in which he opposes the Vietnam War. The first paragraph focuses on economic issues and the second on the hypocrisy of sending African American soldiers to Vietnam in the name of democracy.*

We've got to bring out the question of the tragic mix-up of priorities. We are spending all this money for death and destruction, and not nearly enough money for life and constructive development … when the guns of war become a national obsession, social needs inevitably suffer.

We were taking the young black men who had been crippled by our society, and sending them 8 000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia, which they had not found in Southwest Georgia or East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and White boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village.

Anti-war demonstrations were also held in other countries. Opposition to the Vietnam War formed an important part of the widespread student protests that happened in many countries in 1968 – in France, Italy, West Germany, Japan and others. Australians too protested against the war in Vietnam, where thousands of Australian soldiers were sent to fight alongside the Americans. The growing anti-war protest was

one of the main reasons why the American government eventually decided to withdraw from Vietnam.

Activity 4: (pairs) Analyse the anti-Vietnam protest movement

Use the information in the text to answer these questions:

1 a) Explain what the 'draft' was. (1×1) (1)
b) How did people avoid going to fight? (1×1) (1)
2 Use the information in Source L to answer these questions:
a) Explain what happened at Kent State University. (2×1) (2)
b) Assess the impact it made on the protest movement. (2×1) (2)
3 Assess the significance of the defiance by veterans in 1971. (2×2) (4)
4 Examine the role of the media in intensifying protest against American involvement in the Vietnam War. (3×1) (3)
5 Compare the other groups of people in the USA who carried out different civil rights protests in the 1960s. (3×2) (6)
6 Explain how Martin Luther King in Source M linked the Vietnam War to the Civil Rights Movement. (2×1) (2)

The civil rights movements

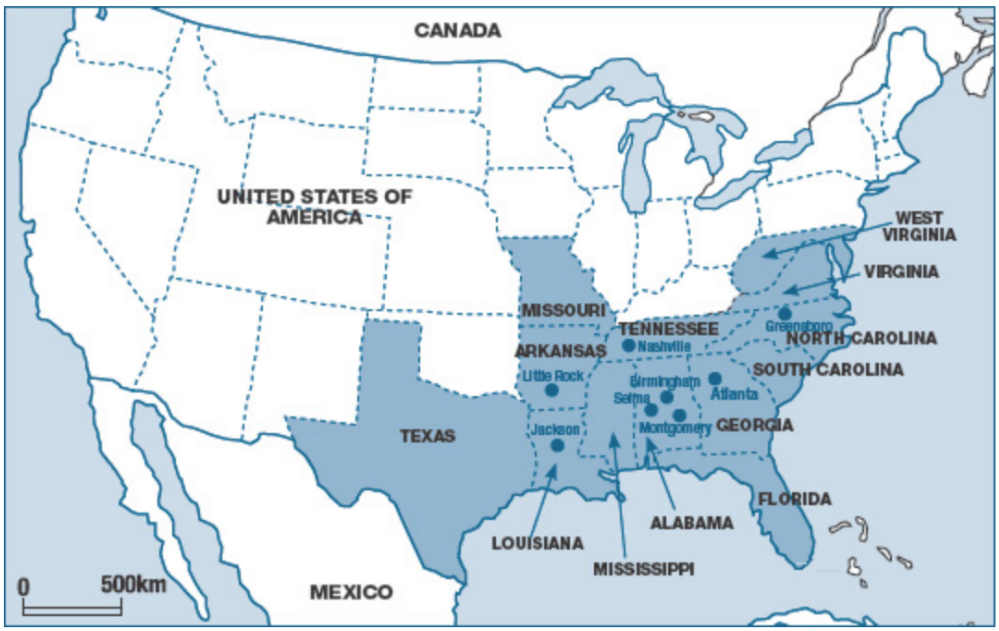
During the 1950s and 1960s, African Americans fought for equal rights in the Civil Rights Movement, using mass non-violent protests. Some activists felt that this did not go far enough and the Black Power Movement called for greater assertiveness. You will learn more about the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements in Units 3.2 and 3.3.

Other minority groups in the USA were also involved in different forms of civil protest. Native American protesters spoke of 'Red Power' and insisted on the name 'Native American' rather than 'Indian'. Mexican-Americans demanded bilingual and bicultural education, and asked to be called 'Chicanos'. Gay rights activists protested against employment discrimination, unequal law enforcement, harassment of individuals and raids on gay bars.

The 1960s were therefore a decade when ordinary men and women took to the streets in many parts of the world to protest against the policies of their governments and to demand change in their society. In the West these protests brought about important changes and reforms.

African Americans formed about 10% of the total American population. In the 1950s many African Americans lived in the southern states of the USA where **segregation** laws discriminated against them and prevented them from voting. In the 1950s and 1960s a Civil Rights Movement emerged that used non-violent tactics to demand equality and an end to segregation.

Key word
segregation the racial separation of all public amenities



This map shows the United States of America. The named states are the ones in which segregation occurred – they are called the southern states. The towns identified are sites of some of the major civil rights protests between 1950 and 1970.

The origins of the Civil Rights Movement

African Americans had been freed from slavery during the American Civil War (1861-65). For a short while after the Civil War, new laws were passed which gave them political rights, including the right to vote. But these rights were gradually taken away when conservative whites regained political control in the southern states of the USA. They passed laws which took away the voting rights of African Americans and enforced strict segregation laws.

An extremist, white supremacist secret society, called the Ku Klux Klan, used violence and terror to make sure these segregation laws were followed.

An association called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was formed in 1909 to fight against segregation and discrimination. Over the years the NAACP campaigned against inequality in issues such as the right to vote and access to housing. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was formed in 1942 and over time the membership of both organisations grew steadily. During the Second World War many African Americans found skilled work in wartime industries and over a

million fought in the US army. Many of them returned after the war determined to work for change and an end to segregation.

In the southern states, where most African Americans initially lived, segregation laws discriminated against them and prevented them from voting. They were also forced to use separate facilities, such as this drinking fountain.

An important moment in the campaign for civil rights came in the 1950s, when the NAACP challenged segregation in the public education system in a case called *Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka*. Linda Carol Brown was a black child in Topeka, Kansas. The local all-white primary school refused to allow her to enrol there, even though she had to pass it every day to walk to the all-black school some distance away. The NAACP took her case to the **Supreme Court** which ruled, in 1954, that segregation in the public school system was illegal. In spite of this important ruling, most schools in the southern states remained segregated. Other facilities (such as libraries, restaurants and buses) were also segregated. Although it was the policy of the **federal government** to end segregation, this was not properly enforced. Intimidation by white racists prevented blacks from registering as voters.

Key words

Supreme Court
the highest court in the US; its function is to ensure that all state and federal laws are in keeping with the principles set down in the Constitution.

federal government
the central or national US government in Washington DC

Source A *From Juan Williams*, Eyes on the Prize: American Civil Rights Years 1954–1965, *Viking, Harmondsworth, 1987, page xiv. In this extract Williams explains how important the Constitution of the USA was in the Civil Rights Movement's campaign for justice.*

The Constitution provided the framework within which the people could act to change the nation for the better. The story of the civil rights movement is a great testament to the Constitution's strength. Although that code of law had for sometime been bent and twisted to deny black Americans their rights, it also provided the basic tool used by the movement to win justice. Even when movement activists broke local laws, they remained conscious of their adherence to the Constitution's provisions. They knew that segregation was wrong on the basis of the nation's highest law. People were willing to go to jail, to fight through the legal system for change, because the Constitution was their ultimate shield.

The Constitution of the USA

The USA consists of 50 states. According to the Constitution of the USA, each state has the right to make laws concerning local matters, such as education and transport. It is the duty of the Supreme Court to ensure that none of the laws passed by individual state governments conflict with the Constitution.

THINK AND DISCUSS: At this time South Africans were living under the apartheid system. In what ways was the legal situation for African Americans different from the one black South Africans lived under?

The next important step in the development of the Civil Rights Movement was a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956. (You will read about it later in this unit.) During this boycott, a young black minister emerged as the leader of the Civil Rights Movement. His name was Martin Luther King Junior.

The role, impact and influence of Martin Luther King Junior

Martin Luther King Junior (Jr) was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1929 and became a Baptist minister in 1954. He was also a member of the NAACP. As a result of the role he played in organising the Montgomery bus boycott, he became a hero among African Americans. Although his house was fire-bombed and he was harassed by the police, he continued to work to keep the boycott going.

In 1957, King and a network of black ministers formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). It trained civil rights activists how to organise non-violent protests, and how to deal with the police, the law and the media. King was a brilliant public speaker. His speeches focused on injustice, prejudice, protest and action.

King's philosophy was one of non-violent resistance, or **civil disobedience**. He believed that civil rights protesters who were attacked or jailed could educate and transform their oppressors through the dignified and non-violent way they accepted this treatment. He firmly believed that blacks and whites could live together in equality and friendship. He was arrested many times during these campaigns. Throughout his political career he was committed to campaigning for social justice and equality and in 1964 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent civil rights campaigns. Although was greatly admired by many people at the time, he was also criticised by people from all sides. Some said he pushed for too much change too soon, others criticised him for not going far enough and being too moderate; others disliked the fact that he was willing to co-operate with whites.

Key word

civil disobedience
peaceful protest in which people break laws that they think are unjust or unconstitutional

Source B *Martin Luther King Jr was arrested many times. This source is made up of two extracts from the public letter he wrote from Birmingham jail in 1963. In the first he is responding to people's criticism of him for pushing too hard for change. In the second he explains the ethical reasons for defying unjust laws.*

I guess it's easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say 'Wait'. But when you have seen vicious mobs **lynch** your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at a whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalise, and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you are humiliated day in day out by nagging signs reading 'white' and 'colored' then you will understand why we find it hard to wait.

… The purpose of our direct-action program is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to **negotiation** … One may well ask: 'How can you advocate breaking the laws and obeying others?' The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has the moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws … One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for the law.

Key words

lynch
to execute someone without a proper trial, used especially by the Ku Klux Klan to intimidate African Americans

negotiation
to resolve conflict through dialogue and compromise

Source C *Martin Luther King Jr is seen here making his famous speech, 'I have a dream', in Washington DC in 1963. Here is short extract from the speech: 'I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up, and live out the true meaning of its creed ... that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that my four little children one day will live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin, but by the content of their character.'*

The influence of Gandhi and passive resistance

Martin Luther King's policy of non-violent resistance was influenced by the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi in India. Gandhi had developed his theories of *satyagraha* (or soul force) during a 20-year stay in South Africa, where he led non-violent protests against discrimination against the Indian community here. When he returned to India, he demonstrated the power of non-violent resistance in the struggle against British rule in India. In 1947 India became independent after a determined struggle by the nationalist movement, using tactics such as strikes, marches and refusing to obey unjust laws.

Activity 1: (groups) Understand the initial actions of the Civil Rights Movement

Use the information in the text to answer questions 1 to 3.

1 Examine why the Civil Rights Movement was necessary in the US.
2 Read the information on the Constitution of the USA and Source A and explain why the Constitution played an important role in the Civil Rights Movement's ability to gain support and to fight for justice. (3×2) (6) (4×1) (4)
3 Explain how the court case, Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka, illustrates the strength and weakness of the Constitution as a guarantor of human rights. (2×2) (4)
4 Use the text and Sources B and C to explain why Martin Luther King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. (Your paragraph should be about 150 words.) (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 4.

Forms of protest through civil disobedience

The following were key features of the beliefs and actions of the Civil Rights Movement:

- a belief in non-violent protest using acts of civil disobedience
- mass action through various forms of peaceful resistance: challenging the state laws through the courts, marches, newspaper petitions, sit-ins, songs, voter registration campaigns, and so on

- multi-racial integration.

The descriptions that follow highlight some of the main events of the Civil Rights Movement.

The Montgomery bus boycott

It was the action of a single woman, Rosa Parks, who moved the battle for equal rights from the law courts to the people in the streets. In 1955, while travelling on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, Parks refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white man. This was in open defiance of a law that was in place in the southern states at the time. She was arrested, and convicted of breaking the segregation laws.

Source D *This is a photograph of Rosa Parks having her fingerprints taken after she was arrested for sitting in the 'whites only' section of a bus in 1955. This was against the law at the time. Her defiance and dignity influenced other people to follow her example. Many people started to protest against segregation in public facilities.*

The black community of Montgomery formed the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and organised a boycott of the city's bus system. Martin Luther King Jr, then a local minister in Montgomery, was elected as the first president of the MIA. The boycott lasted for a year, with people either walking to work or sharing lifts, and the bus company lost 65% of its profits. White racists tried to crush the boycott by setting churches in black communities on fire, and the police even arrested the black leaders, including King.

Meanwhile civil rights lawyers fought the case of Rosa Parks in court. Eventually, in December 1956, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation on buses was against the Constitution of the USA. The action of Rosa Parks inspired other people to realise that they too could stand up for their rights. Parks spent most of her life fighting against injustice. She died in 2005 at the age of 92.

Sit-ins and other forms of protest

Despite the success of the bus boycott in ending segregation on the buses in Montgomery, most facilities in the southern states remained segregated. By the end of the 1950s, many African Americans were impatient for change. Many of them were inspired to fight for freedom and equality for black people in the US by the anti-colonial movement and the establishment of newly independent states in Africa at the time.

Source E *John Lewis, a member of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, comments on the impact of the success of the liberation movements in African countries. Eighteen*

African countries gained their independence in 1960 and 1961. He is quoted in Juan Williams, Eyes on the Prize: American Civil Rights Years 1954–1965, *Viking, Harmondsworth, 1987, page 139.*

> Sure we identified with the blacks in Africa, and we were thrilled by what was going on. Here were black people talking of freedom and liberation and independence, thousands of miles away. We could hardly miss the lesson for ourselves. They were getting their freedom, and we still didn't have ours in what we believed was a free country. We couldn't even get a hamburger and a coke at the soda fountain. Maybe we were slow in realising what this meant to us, but then things started moving together. What was happening in Africa, finally, had tremendous influence on us.

Black and white students formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to support the Civil Rights Movement. In January 1960, SNCC students in Greensboro, North Carolina, staged a 'sit-in' at a lunch counter in a department store where black customers were allowed to shop, but were not allowed to use the restaurant facilities. Although they were abused and attacked, they refused to move. Soon students were holding sit-ins all over the town. Their example was followed by 70 000 students in other states, who held similar protests in segregated facilities. They organised 'kneelins' in churches, 'read-ins' in public libraries, 'play-ins' in city parks, and 'wade-ins' on beaches. Their courage inspired others to become involved in the struggle. Soon thousands more, black and white, joined in a massive campaign of non-violent civil disobedience to demand the desegregation of public facilities. They persisted despite violence and intimidation by southern authorities and white racists.

Source F *Sit-ins, like the one shown here, started in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960. Civil rights protesters, both black and white, held sit-in protests in segregated restaurants and at 'whites only' lunch counters in department stores. Protesters had to put up with verbal abuse and attacks from segregationists. Often food, drinks and cigarette ash were poured onto their heads. Sometimes burning matches or cigarettes were put down the back of their clothes.*

Source G *During the demonstrations protesters would sing freedom songs. These two songs are examples from the Civil Rights Movement. (* If You Miss Me At The Back of the Bus, *words and music by Carver Neblett/Bicycle Music Company/Gallo Music Publishers.)*

'If you miss me at the back of the bus'

If you miss me at the back of the bus
You can't find me nowhere
Come on over to the front of the bus,
I'll be riding up there (×3)
Come on over to the front of the bus,
I'll be riding up there

If you miss me on the picket line
You can't find me nowhere
Come on over to the city jail,
I'll be rooming over there (×3)
Come on over to the city jail,
I'll be rooming over there

If you miss me in the Mississippi river
You can't find me nowhere
Come on over to the swimming pool
I'll be swimming over there (×3)
Come on over to the swimming pool
I'll be swimming over there

If you miss me in the cotton field
You can't find me nowhere
Come on over to the court house
I'll be voting over there (×3)
Come on over to the court house
I'll be voting over there

'We shall overcome'

(This became the anthem of the Civil Rights Movement.)
We shall overcome (×3) someday
CHORUS: Oh, deep in my heart,
I do believe,
We shall overcome someday
We'll walk hand in hand (×3) someday
CHORUS
We shall live in peace (×3) someday
CHORUS
The whole wide world around (×3) someday
CHORUS
We are not afraid (×3) today
CHORUS
We shall overcome (×3) someday

Other civil rights activists were members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Members of CORE and the SNCC became 'freedom riders', travelling on interstate buses to force the integration of buses and bus stations all over the south. They aimed to create media attention and force the federal government to do more to promote civil rights. Many of them were savagely attacked by groups of angry whites, who set fire to buses and attacked the freedom riders. However, they succeeded in the end in getting federal support and the interstate bus system was desegregated.

Organisations in the Civil Rights Movement

The Civil Rights Movement consisted of many different organisations – some local and some national. The main ones were:

SCLC – Southern Christian Leadership Conference, established in 1957 by Martin Luther King Jr and other ministers.

SNCC – Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, formed by students in North Carolina in 1960; played a leading role in organising sit-ins, freedom rides and the Washington march.

CORE – Congress of Racial Equality, formed in Chicago in 1942 to fight racial inequality; also played a leading role in organising sit-ins, freedom rides and other Civil Rights protests.

NAACP – National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, formed in 1909, tackled issues through the courts.

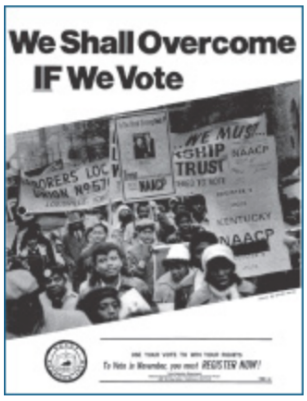
The Civil Rights Movement won another victory when James Meredith became the first black student to

enrol at the formerly white University of Mississippi. When he arrived to enrol at the university, he was accompanied by 500 federal **marshals**, who were there to ensure that there was no violence. But they were attacked by thousands of white students and other angry white southerners. Two people were killed and 160 marshals injured before 5 000 army troops arrived to restore order. Meredith was protected by marshals throughout his year of study at the university.

Key word
marshals government officials who act on behalf of the courts to ensure that federal laws are carried out in each state

In the 'Freedom Summer of 1964' black and white Civil Rights campaigners from the more liberal northern states went to Mississippi to open 'Freedom Schools' and to encourage African Americans to register as voters. The Freedom Schools taught basic literacy and black history, and emphasised black pride and achievements. As a result of their efforts they registered 60 000 new black voters. But there was a violent reaction to their efforts: black churches were bombed, hundreds of Freedom Summer workers were beaten and arrested, and six were murdered.

Source H *A poster designed to encourage African Americans to register to vote. Violence against Civil Rights workers gained enormous media coverage. This increased people's awareness about Civil Rights issues. It also forced the federal government to uphold the law.*



Source I *In this extract Vivien Sanders explains the work of SNCC in Mississippi during the 'Freedom Summer of 1964'. The situation for blacks in Mississippi, where they made up half the population, was particularly bad. Only 5,2% were registered to vote as a result of unfair qualification procedures used by state officials. Seventy per cent of blacks were illiterate and the state spent three times more on white students than on black.*

SNCC worked at local community level, establishing Freedom Schools to educate would-be voters and get them registered. It was the local, poorer black population, not the black middle class, who responded to SNCC in Mississippi. SNCC workers lived in fear of white extremists and were unprotected by the federal government.

In November 1963, SNCC organised the 'Freedom Vote', a mock election for disenfranchised blacks. SNCC then promoted another registration drive, the Mississippi Summer Project, or Freedom Summer, in 1964. Predominantly white Northern volunteers poured into Mississippi to help. All America took notice of 'Mississippi Freedom Summer' after three young activists (two of whom were white) were murdered by segregationists. SNCC also helped to organise the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) … The MFDP successfully politicised many poor black Mississippians (especially women), developing new grassroots leaders, and brought Mississippi suffering to national attention. However, disillusioned with the lack of federal protection, SNCC became far more militant, which contributed to the disintegration of the civil rights coalition.

Activity 2: (pairs) Analyse the nature of resistance

Use the text to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise.

1 Discuss the significance of what Rosa Parks did. (6×1) (6)
2 Use Source E to explain how the liberation struggles in Africa influenced people in the USA. (3×2) (6)
3 a) Explain what the SNCC was. (2×2) (4)
b) What types of protest did it organise? (3×1) (3)
4 a) Explain the references made in the two songs in Source G. (6×2) (12)
b) Discuss the political purpose of songs like these. (3×1) (3)
5 Explain the following in the context of this history:
a) Freedom Riders (4×1) (4)
b) Freedom Summer of 1964 (Refer to Source I in your answer.)
6 Look at the information about the different Civil Rights Organi-(4×1) (4) sations.
Assess the role that these organisations played in the success of the Movement. (5×2) (10)

Civil rights marches

Civil rights campaigners held protest marches to get support and publicity for their cause. Those who participated in the marches often had to face police aggression and violence as well as possible arrest.

An important step in the civil rights campaign was a massive demonstration in the capital, Washington DC in 1963. All the main civil rights groups worked together to organise this demonstration. At the Lincoln Memorial, (exactly a hundred years after President Abraham Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing slavery), 250 000 people, from all religious and ethnic backgrounds, joined together to demand full racial equality. Although many critics had predicted violence, the huge crowd remained peaceful, listening to protest songs and speakers. The most memorable was Martin Luther King's famous speech, 'I have a Dream', promoting **racial harmony**. (Look back at Source C). The peaceful march and King's speech made a big impact on public opinion across the US and increased support and sympathy for the Civil Rights Movement.

New word

racial harmony
different races living in peace with each other

The Birmingham campaign

Birmingham in Alabama was a centre of opposition to change. The police, under police chief Bull Connor, were known to be exceptionally racist and had links to the Ku Klux Klan. In April 1963, King organised a march in Birmingham to draw attention to the on-going segregation in the town and the actions of the police. As expected, the police reacted violently by using electric cattle prods, dogs and turning fire hoses on the peaceful protesters. Over 1 000 protesters were arrested, including Martin Luther King Jr. (This was when he wrote his famous letter from Birmingham jail – see Source B earlier in this unit.)

News reports and photographs of brutal police actions were shown all over the USA. President Kennedy intervened and ordered the governor of Alabama to release the protestors and end segregation in the state. However, tensions and bitterness remained, and in September 1963 four black children were killed in a Birmingham church by a Ku Klux Klan bomb.

Source J *Protestors often had to face police violence and arrest. This photograph shows fire-hoses being used to dispel protestors in Birmingham, Alabama in April 1963. One fireman later said, 'We're supposed to fight fires, not people.' Photographs like this were seen all over America, and they helped to get the Civil Rights Bill placed before Congress for debate.*

The Selma–Montgomery marches

In March 1965, Civil Rights protesters organised a march in Selma, Alabama, which was **notorious** for the attitude of its racist and brutal sheriff, Jim Clark. Only 2,4% of African Americans in Selma had registered to vote because of the obstacles and intimidation by the white authorities. Although the authorities banned the planned march from Selma to Montgomery, it went ahead. Six hundred marchers were jeered and threatened by hostile crowds, and viciously attacked by the police using batons and tear gas.

New word

notorious
well-known for bad reasons

The widespread publicity of the violence gained support for the Civil Rights Movement. Supporters from all over the country went to Selma, and a week later a much larger march took place, this time without incident. After this, African Americans in Selma began to register as voters, and in the next election Jim Clark was voted out of office.

Activity 3: (groups) Analyse the Civil Rights Movement through photographs

Read the Skills Support information on 'How to assess the usefulness of photographs as historical evidence', and then study all the photographs in this unit:

1 How does having a range of photographs help you to get a more accurate understanding of a period than only one would? (3×1) (3)
2 Assign each person in your group one of the following sources to study: Sources C, D, F, J and H. Once each person has applied the questions given, discuss the answers together.
   a) Does your source tell you anything about who was involved in the Civil Rights Movement? If so what? (3×1) (3)
   b) What kinds of actions were carried out? (5×1) (5)
   c) What were they hoping to achieve? (2×2) (4)
   d) Does the source show the attitudes of the people who were against the Civil Rights Movement? If so, explain how. (3×2) (6)

Use the text to answer questions 3 and 4:

3 The Washington March was seen as a high point of the Civil Rights Movement. Explain why. (3×2) (6)
4 Explain the significance of the following:
   a) the Birmingham Campaign (use the text and information in Source J and its caption in your answer) (4×2) (8)
   b) the Selma to Montgomery marches. (4×2) (8)

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to assess the usefulness of photographs as historical evidence

Photographs are a wonderful way into the past, but they need to be looked at as carefully as any other source to see whether they are useful or reliable.

The strengths of photographs as evidence

- They show the actual event or period.
- They show us information about cultural norms, fashions, building styles, technological developments and social conventions.
- They are an accessible medium for all people.
- They are used with other photographs and sources they can help us to develop an understanding of the period.

The limitations of photographs as evidence

- They only show one moment in time.
- They may not be typical of the whole place or time.
- The photographer may focus on one aspect and leave out something that would change our view of what happened.
- They are not neutral; they will reflect the photographer's interests or bias
- A photograph can be inaccurate because it has been altered.

Therefore, be careful of making generalisations about the whole period based on one photograph.

School desegregation: a case study of Little Rock, Arkansas

Even though the US Supreme Court had ruled in 1954 that segregation in the public school system was illegal, most schools in the southern states remained segregated. One of these was Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, which was regarded as one of the best schools in the south. Little Rock became the scene of one of the early victories of the Civil Rights Movement.

In 1957, when nine black students tried to register at the school, the governor of Arkansas called out state troops (the National Guard) to prevent them from doing so. Angry white crowds gathered outside the school, shouting abuse at the students. The situation was only resolved when President Eisenhower sent 1 000 federal troops to ensure that the children could enter the school safely. The troops remained there for six weeks until the tensions had died down. The governor continued to support segregation and repeatedly tried to defy the court rulings enforcing integrated schools. He remained popular among white voters and was re-elected for six terms in office.

Source K *In Little Rock, Arkansas, white racists were determined to keep the schools all-white. In 1957, nine black students went to register at Central High School. They were met by angry protestors who didn't want any blacks in their school. Here, 15-year old Elizabeth Eckford bravely tries to ignore the abuse of the angry crowd. Forty years later the women who shouted at her publicly apologised for their actions that day.*

Source L *This extract describes the hardships that the black students who attended the all-white school and their families went through. Beals, who is quoted in the source, experienced an extreme incident of having acid thrown in her face which nearly blinded her. Today she is a professor of journalism. The extract is from* http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/crandall/CRfacts2.htm

Although some of the students, teachers, and administration attempted to maintain a sense of normalcy, for the nine students that integrated Central High School it was like going to war every day. One of the Little Rock Nine, Melba Pattillo Beals, describes their experience in her book *Warriors Don't Cry*: 'My eight friends and I paid for the integration of Central High with our innocence. During those years when we desperately needed approval from our peers, we were victims of the most harsh rejection imaginable. The physical and psychological punishment we endured profoundly affected our lives. It transformed us into warriors who dared not cry even when we suffered intolerable pain.'

Integration affected both their lives at school and at home. At school these students were elbowed, poked, kicked, punched, and pushed. They faced verbal abuse from segregationists as well as death threats against themselves, their families, and members of the black community. At home, their families endured threatening phone calls; some of the parents lost their jobs; and the black community as a whole was harassed by bomb threats, gun shots, and bricks thrown through windows. While the students received some support from their community, they also were alienated by those who felt their actions jeopardised the safety of others.

Source M *Ernest Green, one of the 'Little Rock Nine' and the first black student to graduate from Central High School in Little Rock, recalls the events of 1957. Green went on to graduate from Michigan State University, and served as Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Affairs, under President Jimmy Carter. (From Godfrey Hodgson*, Peoples's Century, *BBC Books, 1996, pages 67-68)*

'It was the premier high school in the mid-South, turning out large numbers of Merit scholars', remembers Ernest Green. 'But there was a barrier. Because I was a black kid I couldn't attend there.' The state governor ordered soldiers of the National Guard to keep the black students out. But because of the Supreme Court's decision, President Dwight Eisenhower felt obliged to send in the army to escort the nine students in to school. Ernest Green was in a station wagon with one army jeep, mounting a machine gun, in front of him, and another behind. 'A cordon of soldiers surrounded us,' Green says. 'We went up those steps. It really was an exhilarating feeling that you had finally accomplished something. You could see the cameras and the people across the street. And all of it was focused on the nine of us going to school' …

'The most amazing thing was that through all the turmoil, the pain and physical abuse that we took, we outlasted our enemy and we achieved something. I was able to stand there with my cap and gown, with my diploma, as a graduate of that school.'

Source N *The nine students suffered many acts of intimidation. One of the nine did not complete high school but the rest went on to graduate. This is an extract from an article from* The Guardian *newspaper about the significance of the election of President Obama in the USA. The phrase 'Washington on 20 January' refers to President Obama's inauguration in 2008 to which the Little Rock Nine were invited. Obama became the first black president of the USA in 2008. (From Joanna Walters*, 'Little Rock Nine' prepare to celebrate day of victory, The Guardian, *28 December 2008, Guardian News & Media Ltd.)*

During months of torment, the nine ran the gauntlet of abuse at the hands of the racist crowds, which included some teachers, at the school …

The civil rights leader Martin Luther King met the nine and encouraged them not to give up. Melba Pattillo Beals said: 'I had eggs thrown all over me and I was whining to Dr King about it. He said 'Melba, you are not doing this for yourself, you are doing this for generations yet unborn'. Now when I look at what Nelson Mandela did and slaves who revolted, and Rosa Parks, and Gandhi, we are all one.'

Not all of the group will make it to Washington on 20 January. Probation officer Elizabeth Eckford, who appears in one of the most famous newspaper pictures of the time walking to school with her books while a fierce mob yells at her, said she could not afford the trip. But she also explained that she still suffers from a fear of crowds, however benign, after those early years in Little Rock. 'I'm really looking forward to the inauguration, but I'll watch it on my television. It would be very uncomfortable for me to be in such an immense crowd. I have post-traumatic stress disorder because we were knocked about daily at Central. I still can't stand to have people close behind me, even in an elevator.'

Source O *An account showing a different perspective of the first year of integration at Little Rock Central High. From* http://www.centralhigh57.org/

Inside the school, the great majority of the 2 000 students, the faculty and the administration worked to put the law of the land into effect. For every act of harassment, there were 100 acts of acceptance of the black students among the white. Though not all the white students favoured desegregation, they felt it was their duty to obey the law. Besides, their priority was to get a first-class education ... and many helped the black students try to achieve the same thing, even though they were faced with pressures that were very difficult for teenagers to comprehend.

Short-term and long-term gains of the Civil Rights Movement

As a result of the efforts of the Civil Rights Movement, congress passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964. This law barred segregation and discrimination in employment and in all public facilities, including schools, hotels, and restaurants. After this, King and the SCLC encouraged African Americans to register as voters, and within 18 months nearly half a million black voters had registered to vote.

In 1965, the Voting Rights Act outlawed obstacles to voting which some states had used to exclude black voters. The act allowed federal agents to inspect the procedures used by individual states to register voters. It also put an end to the literacy tests which had been used to disqualify poor black voters. As a result of the passing of the Voting Rights Act, many more black voters were registered, and black mayors were elected in cities such as Atlanta and Detroit.

Martin Luther King Jr and the Civil Rights Movement focused mainly on ending discrimination in the southern states. However, many African Americans living in the northern states felt that the movement should focus on the poor living conditions and police brutality that many of them faced. In the next unit you will learn how the Black Power movement addressed these issues.

In the long term, the Civil Rights Movement showed that a mass-based peaceful protest movement could bring about meaningful change. For example, in the United States the tactics of passive resistance were repeated in campaigns against the Vietnam War. The Civil Rights Movement was also an inspiration in other parts of the world where racial discrimination existed. For example, marches, sit-ins and refusal to obey unjust segregation laws were powerful tactics of the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa in the late 1980s.

Activity 4: (individual) Analyse the significance of Little Rock

Use your knowledge to answer questions 1 to 3, and the relevant sources for the rest of the questions.

1 Explain how the events at Central High School in Little Rock show that the Constitution of the USA helped the Civil Rights Movement to fight segregation. (3×2) (6)
2 Explain the significance of the events at the Little Rock high school.
3 Explain why the Voting Rights Act was necessary. (3×1) (3)(3×1) (3)
4 Explain how Source L shows what Beals says – ie 'My eight friends and I paid for the integration with our innocence'. (3×2) (6)
5 Read Source M and explain why Eisenhower had to send 'in the army'.
6 Explain whether Green thinks what they sacrificed was worth it. (2×1) (2)
7 Explain the meaning of Martin Luther King's message to Beals in Source N. (2×1) (2) (2×2) (4)
8 Use Source K to explain why Eckford feels as she does, as stated in Source N. (2×2) (4)
9 Assess how accurate the perspective given in Source O is. (4×1) (4)

Practice essay

Write an essay of about 800–1 000 words in which you discuss why the Civil Rights Movement was necessary and then analyse the nature of their resistance. (Make sure you discuss the different organisations, the different forms of protest and the key events.)

Reasons for the emergence of the Black Power Movement

The Civil Rights Movement focused on ending segregation in the south. But there was also serious discrimination in the northern states. By 1965, 50% of African Americans lived there, usually in inner city **ghettos**, with poor housing and schools, and high unemployment. Many were descendants of African Americans who had moved from the rural southern states in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although they had escaped the harsh segregation laws of the southern states, the move to the north had not given them the same opportunities as white Americans. Everywhere schools and other facilities used by blacks were inferior.

As the 1960s progressed, they came to reject the non-violent methods which Martin Luther King Jr and the SCLC advocated. Impatient at the slow pace of change, they adopted the more radical tactics of the 'Black Power' Movement. They felt that force was justified in the struggle to achieve equality.

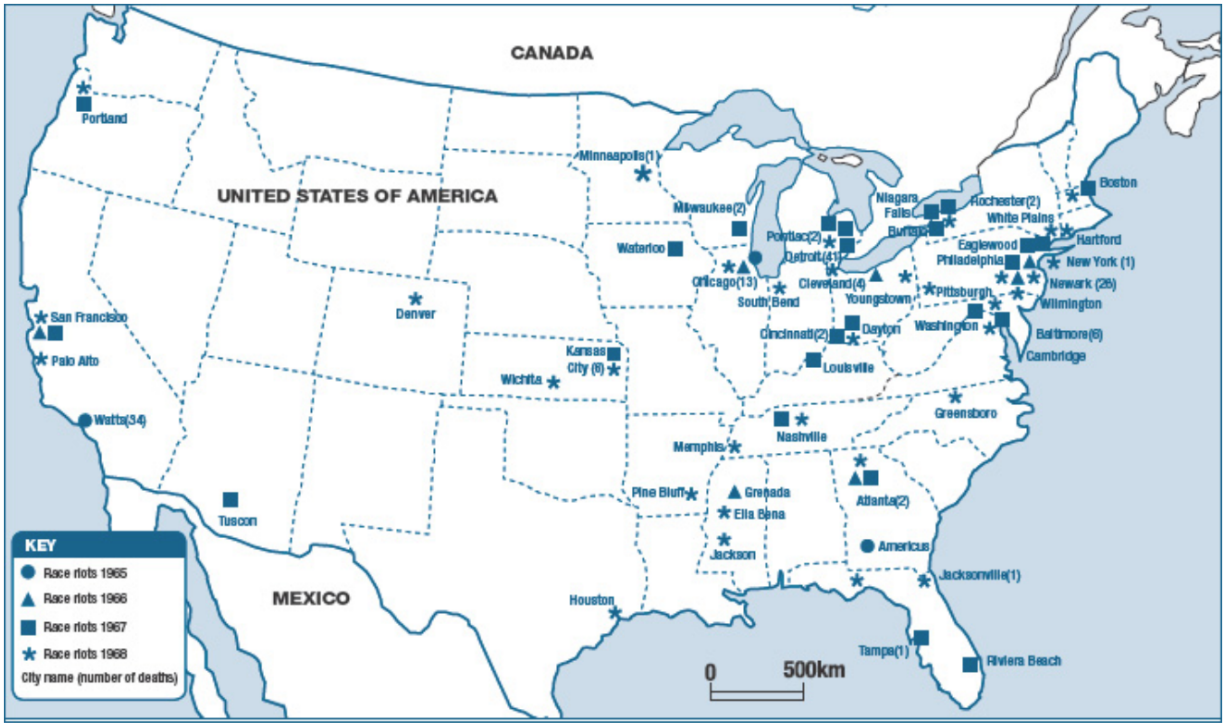
The growth of Black Power coincided with a wave of riots in American cities in the mid-1960s. The main causes of these riots were poor living conditions and **police brutality** in the ghettos – issues which the Civil Rights Movement had not dealt with. In the first of these riots, in Watts, Los Angeles in August 1965, 34 people were killed, hundreds injured and 4 000 were arrested. There were worse riots in many US cities in 1967 when large areas of cities such as Detroit and Newark were **looted** and burned. The commission appointed by President Johnson to investigate the causes of the riots concluded that white racism was the chief cause.

New words

ghetto
a poor urban neighbourhood usually housing one ethnic group

police brutality
using unnecessary violence in carrying out duties

looting
stealing by breaking into shops during a riot



This map shows where many of the race riots took place between 1965 and 1968.

In 1968, Martin Luther King Jr was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee on the balcony of the hotel where he was staying. James Earl Ray, the white man who shot him, was later arrested and imprisoned, but many people believed that he was part of a larger **conspiracy** which to this day has never been uncovered. People around the world mourned the death of the leader who had repeatedly called for justice and non-violence. It was ironic that in the United States his assassination sparked more angry riots in over a hundred cities.

New words
conspiracy plot

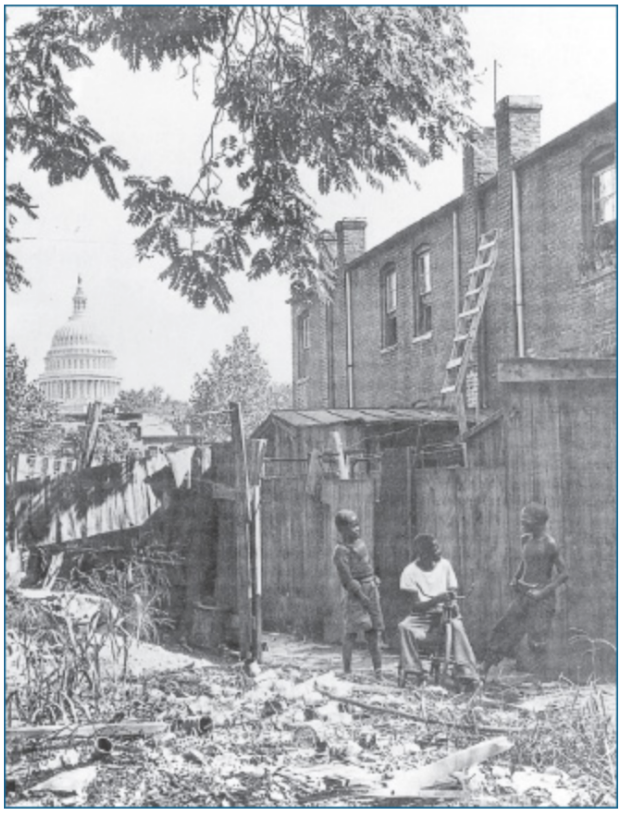
The philosophy of Black Power

The Black Power Movement was a philosophy rather than a political organisation. Those who supported it rejected the term 'Negro', (which was then commonly used to refer to African Americans), and referred to themselves as 'black' instead. They emphasised the importance of black culture, traditions and history and urged **solidarity** with Africa. They promoted the development of a distinctive black identity and used the slogan 'Black is beautiful'.

Black Power stressed pride in being black, and the need to promote black political, and cultural institutions, rather than only seeking equality and acceptance within a mainly white America. For this reason, supporters of Black Power believed that Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement did not go far enough to protect and promote black interests. As Stokely Carmichael, a Black Power leader stated, 'The only way we gonna stop them white men from whuppin' us is to take over. What we gonna start sayin' now is Black Power!'

Key word

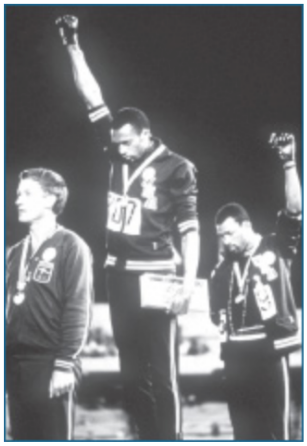
solidarity
togetherness



Even in the northern states, which did not have the same segregation laws, African Americans did not have the same opportunities as white Americans. They were usually paid lower wages, and many lived in the poor areas of town. This family in Washington DC lived in poverty within sight of the building where the American Congress (or parliament) meets.

Source A *The 'Black Power' slogan was popular and used by many people for different reasons, as explained in this extract from Paul Boyer et al*, The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People, *DC Heath and Co, 1996, New York/Cengage, page 980.*

The 'Black Power' slogan was adopted by African-Americans of virtually every persuasion. Revolutionaries used it to preach guerrilla warfare; liberals, to demand reform; conservatives, to demand self-help. For many who adopted it, the phrase simply meant self-pride. 'Say it loud – I'm black and I'm proud', chanted soul singer James Brown, and a generation of African Americans affirmed that 'black is beautiful'. Rejecting skin bleaches and hair straighteners, young blacks donned dashikis, wore Afro hairstyles, enjoyed soul music and soul food, and established black studies programs at colleges. Black Power reflected an insistence that African Americans shape their own culture and define their own destiny.



At the Olympic Games in Mexico City in 1968, two African American athletes gave the Black Power salute as the American anthem was playing during the medal ceremony. The clenched fist was used by the Black Power Movement as a symbol of unbreakable strength and unity. By doing this, these athletes were protesting against racism in America. The two athletes were banned from the American team and sent home in disgrace.

The Black Panthers

The Black Panthers were a **militant** group within the Black Power Movement. They were founded in Oakland, California, in 1966, and led by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. They wanted an end to white capitalist control and police brutality towards African Americans. They formed a political party with a membership of possibly about 5 000 that called for blacks to be exempted from the draft to fight in Vietnam because they did not want to defend a racist white government. They also called for decent housing and schools for black communities, black juries for court cases involving blacks, and freedom for blacks held in 'white jails'. Some branches of the Black Panthers gained respect in the ghettos because they set up self-help schemes. They set up ghetto clinics to advise blacks on health, welfare and legal rights. Some provided meals for the poor. A leader of the Black Panthers was Angela Davis, who later became a professor of philosophy and an important voice in the Women's Movement.

New word
militant using, or willing to use, force

Angela Davies was born into a middle class family in Birmingham, Alabama and had first-hand experience of Ku Klux Klan violence. She joined the Communist Party and the Black Panther Movement. She became an academic and an activist, was harassed by the police and went into hiding after she was implicated in a shoot-out in which four people were killed. She was arrested and put on trial in 1970 but was acquitted of all charges. Her supporters wore this button when she was jailed.

The Black Panthers formed patrols to monitor police activities in the ghettos, wearing distinctive black leather jackets and berets and carrying guns. They were more willing than others to use violence, and they adopted Mao Zedong's slogan that 'Power flows from the barrel of a gun'. They believed that black Americans should arm themselves to force whites to accept equality. They were involved in many violent clashes with the police, killing nine police officers between 1967 and 1968, and earning themselves the reputation of being 'dangerous revolutionaries', although some of the situations in which these shootings happened were incidents that had been provoked by the police.

Source B *An extract from the oral testimony of pastor George Clements. Quoted in Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer*, Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s to the 1980s, *Vintage, London, 1990, page 523*

The thing that I loved about the Black Panthers is that they refused to be ignored. It was very easy to ignore black people back then, because everybody figured, 'Well it's just a lot of talk and they're not going to do anything. They'll just go on moaning and groaning about how terrible everything is. At the best, they just might get involved in some acts of non-violence. But that's about it. Business as usual.'

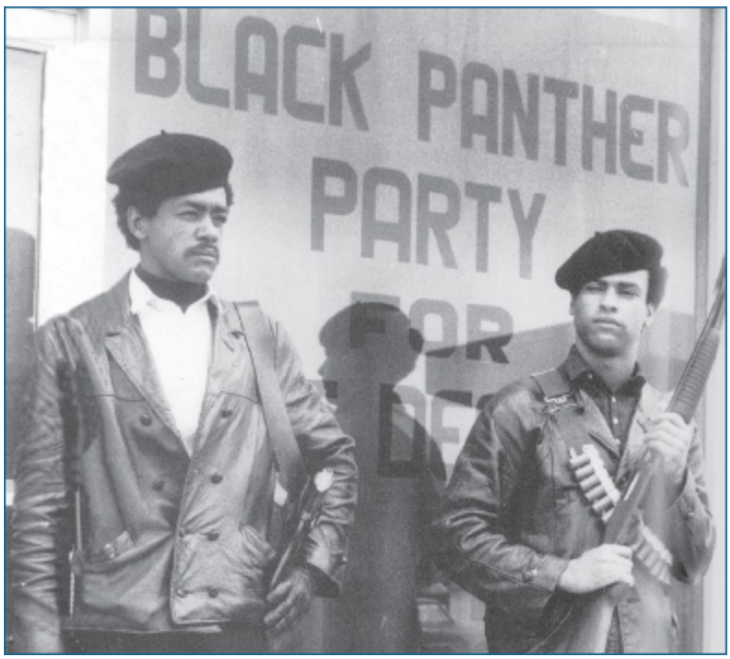
You couldn't have business as usual with the Black Panthers. The Black Panthers were definitely going to be heard. They had these things that they would say, like, 'by any means necessary'. And you know that shook people up. People said, 'Ooh, ah, these are some serious black folks'. That appealed to me very, very much, because I have always said, you know, 'Love Clements, or hate Clements, but just don't ignore me. Just don't treat me like I'm a nonentity, as though I don't exist.' And that, for all practical purposes was happening with the black community.

After 1968, the Nixon government used informers and agents to target the Black Panthers, and 27 of their members were killed in shoot-outs with the police. Several Black Panther leaders ended up in prison for criminal activities. By 1970, the Black Panthers had broken up as a result, but they had gained a lot of publicity for the Black Power cause.

Source C *This extract by Clark and Remini in* We the People: A History of the United States, *Glencoe Press, 1975, page 542, explains why the Panthers made mainstream America so uncomfortable.*

Since the Panthers violated the American tradition that one does not defend oneself against the police – they fought back and with guns – they were doomed. Panthers were self-confident, tightly disciplined, and courageous. But they were also arrogant and militant and, as revolutionaries in a country whose people supported their government, many observers figured they were marked for extermination.

Source D *The Black Panthers at the time of the trial of two of their leaders, Bobby Seale and Huey Newton in 1968. The US Constitution protects the rights of its citizens to bear arms and they felt that they needed arms to protect themselves against white racists.*



Activity 1: (groups) Assess the impact of the Black Power Movement and the Black Panthers

Use the information in the text to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise.

1 Describe how the Black Panthers differed from the 'Black Power Movement'. (5×2) (10)

2 Use the text and Source A to explain why the term 'Black Power' had such widespread appeal. (4×1) (4)

3 a) Explain why the Black Panthers appealed to George Clements (Source B). (2×1) (2)

b) Explain why, according to Source C, the assertiveness of the Black Panthers was also a disadvantage. (2×1) (2)

c) Explain how Source D illustrates the points made in Sources B and C. (2×2) (4)

4 Discuss the causes of the anger felt by African Americans which led to urban riots in the northern American cities. (5×1) (5)

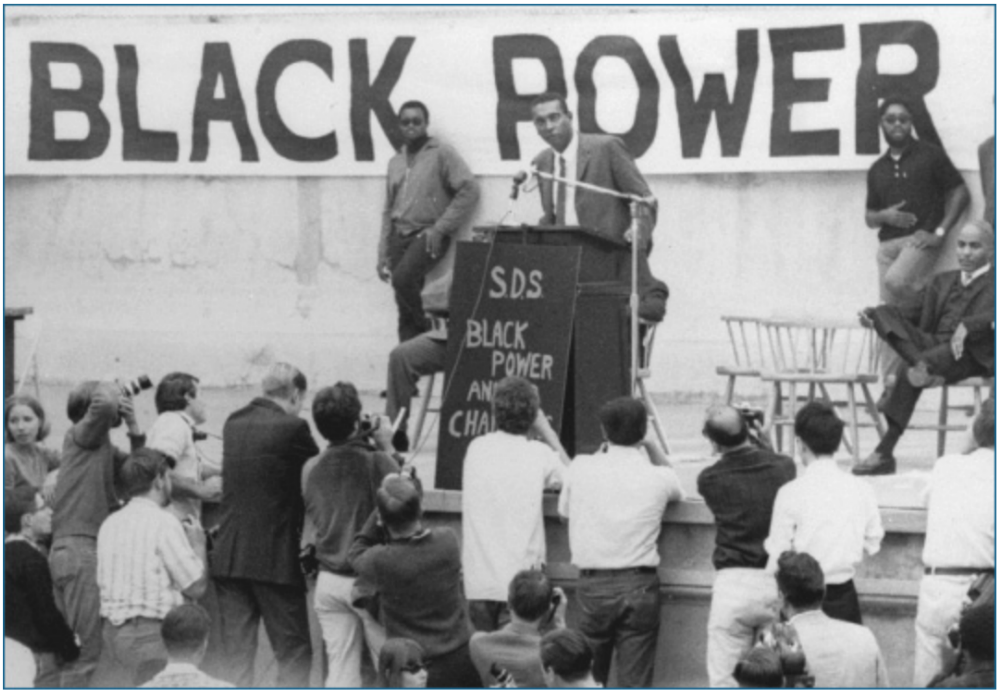
5 Analyse whether it is appropriate to see the Black Panthers as 'dangerous revolutionaries'. (2×3) (6)

Leaders in the Black Power Movement

Stokely Carmichael

Stokely Carmichael was born in Trinidad but went to high school and university in the US. He joined the Students Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1961 and was deeply involved in the Civil Rights Movement, as a Freedom Rider and as part of the Freedom Summer Project. He became the leader of the SNCC in 1966.

In the same year, James Meredith (the first black student to enrol at the University of Mississippi) was shot by a sniper while he was walking alone in a 'March against Fear' from Memphis to Jackson, to protest against racism. Stokely Carmichael, Martin Luther King and other activists decided to continue the march to honour Meredith. Meredith himself rejoined the march after recovering in hospital. During the march, Carmichael and others were arrested by the police. It was the 27th time that he had been arrested for taking part in Civil Rights protests.



Carmicheal speaking at a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) rally, 1966

When he was released from jail, Carmicheal made a famous speech using the term 'Black Power' for the first time. He called on African Americans to 'unite, to recognise their heritage, and to build a sense of community', and to form and lead their own organisations. Other civil rights groups such as the NAACP and the SCLC rejected some of Carmichael's ideas and accused him of black racism.

Carmichael also adopted the slogan 'Black is Beautiful', which promoted pride in being black and rejected white notions of style and fashion. As a result, his followers wore Afro hairstyles and African-style clothing. He became increasingly critical of other leaders, such as Martin Luther King Jr, and their willingness to work with whites. He later left the SNCC and joined the Black Panther Party and became its 'honorary prime minister'.

This poster emphasises the confrontational, outspoken and angry style of the Black Power Movement.

Source E *From 'What We Want' by Stokely Carmichael, published in the* New York Review of Books, *vol. 7, 22 September 1966 (Carmichael Estate). Carmichael was a leader of the Stu-*

dent Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), but he later left the organisation as his ideas became too radical for this organisation.

After years … we are almost at the same point – because we demonstrated from a point of weakness. We cannot be expected any longer to march and have our heads broken, in order to say to Whites: 'Come, you're nice guys.' For you are not nice guys. We have found you out.

We should begin with the basic fact that black Americans have two problems: they are poor and they are black … Black Americans are propertyless people in a country where property is valued above all … We have to work for power because this country does not function by morality, love and non-violence, but by power. Thus we are determined to win political power, with the idea of moving on from there into activity that would have economic effects. With power, the masses could make the decisions which govern their destinies and thus create basic changes in their day-to-day lives …

As for white America, perhaps it can stop crying out against 'black supremacy', 'black nationalism', 'racism in reverse' and start facing reality. The reality is that this nation from top to bottom, is racist; that racism is not primarily a problem of 'human relations', but of an exploitation maintained – either actively or through silence – by the society as a whole.

… We may also need a gun, and SNCC reaffirms the right of black men everywhere to defend themselves when threatened or attacked. As for initiating violence, we hope that such programmes as ours will make that unnecessary; but it is not for us to tell black communities whether they can or cannot use any particular form of action to resolve their problems.

When Carmichael spoke out against US involvement in the Vietnam War, the US government confiscated his passport for ten months. After this he moved to Guinea in West Africa (with his wife, the South African singer, Miriam Makeba, whom he later divorced), where he wrote a book linking Black Power to Pan-Africanism. He lived there until his death from cancer in 1998.

Source F *From a speech by Stokely Carmichael in which he explains the need for black Americans to be self-reliant*

Now we maintain that we cannot have white people working in the black community, and we mean it on a psychological ground. The fact is that all black people often question whether or not they are equal to whites, because every time they start to do something, white people are around showing them how to do it. If we are going to eliminate that for the generation that comes after us, then black people must be seen in positions of power, doing and articulating for themselves, for themselves.

Activity 2: (pairs) Analyse the leadership of Stokely Carmichael

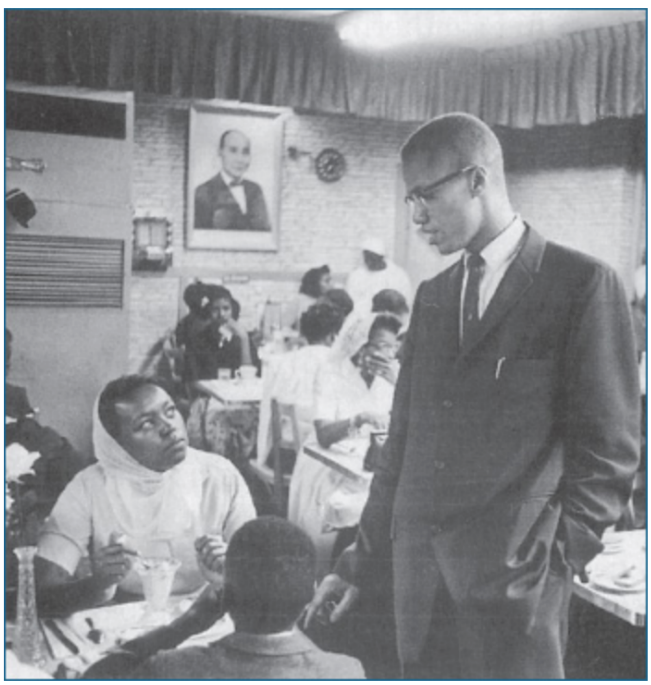
Refer to Source E to answer Questions 1 to 4.

1 Describe why Carmichael stresses the need to campaign for political power in his article 'What We Want'. (6×1) (6)
2 In paragraph 3, why are three of the phrases put in quotation marks? Explain what is meant by each. (4×2) (8)
3 Interpret what Carmichael means by racism being 'not primarily a problem of human relations but of an exploitation maintained … by the whole society'. (3×1) (3)
4 Assess the validity of Carmichael's claim that 'violence by black men, whether in self-defence or initiated by them, lies with the white community'. (2×3) (6)
5 Make up a social awareness advertisement that could be played on the radio which would promote the idea of 'Black is Beautiful'. (N/A)

Malcolm X

Malcolm Little, or Malcolm X as he became known, was a leading figure in the Black Power Movement. His father was a Baptist minister who had been killed by white racists when Malcolm was young. He drifted into crime and spent 10 years in prison, where he obtained the education he had missed and learned about the Black Muslim Movement. When he came out of prison, he rejected his original surname, which he said was a name given to his ancestors by their white owners when they were slaves, and replaced it with X. He became a leading member of the Nation of Islam, a Black Muslim group.

Malcolm X was a fiery speaker who gained a large following among young urban blacks. He argued that violence was necessary to confront white racism, and as self-defence against groups like the Ku Klux Klan. He was critical of King's non-violence, which he said had held back black people. He urged blacks to be proud of their heritage and their African roots, and to seize their freedom 'by any means possible'. Unlike the Civil Rights Movement which encouraged racial integration, Malcolm X promoted black separation, believing that blacks needed to be self-reliant. He became the most influential leader of the Black Power Movement.



Malcolm X said that in prison reading had opened up his desire to learn and to use his abilities more productively. He was greatly influenced by the discipline and focus of the Nation of Islam and its leader Elijah Mohammed. This photograph shows him teaching in a school established by the Nation of Islam. Elijah Mohammed's picture is on the back wall of the classroom.

Source G *Leaders such as Malcolm X argued that blacks should meet violence with violence. He felt this was the only way that they would be taken seriously. This extract comes from a book of his speeches edited by George Breitman*, Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements, *Grove Press, 1965. He was speaking to the Mississippi youth in 1964.*

> I don't go along with non-violence unless everybody's going to be non-violent. If they make the Ku Klux Klan non-violent, I'll be non-violent … But as long as you've got somebody else not being non-violent, I don't want anybody coming to me talking any non-violent talk.
>
> You get your freedom by letting your enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom; then you'll get it. It's the only way you'll get it … fight them, and you'll get your freedom.

Source H *An extract from a speech by Malcolm X defending black Americans' right to defend themselves, in the same way as they were required to defend America in the Vietnam War.*

> If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us, and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

Malcolm X was also critical of King's willingness to co-operate with whites. For example, he spoke out against the march on Washington, saying that it was 'watered down' because whites were allowed to participate in it, instead of it being a rally by blacks only. He referred to it as the 'farce on Washington' and said that while Martin Luther King Jr was having a dream 'the rest of us Negroes are having a nightmare'.

Source I *These three quotations all come from Malcolm X's writings. He wrote three major books called* Malcolm X Speaks, By Any Means Necessary *and* The Autobiography of Malcolm X. *These quotations were found in* http://www.malcolm-x.org/quotes.htm.

Who ever heard of angry revolutionists all harmonizing 'We shall overcome ... Su-um Day ...' while tripping and swaying along arm-in-arm with the very people they were supposed to be angrily revolting against? Who ever heard of angry revolutionists swinging their bare feet together with their oppressor in lily-pad park pools, with gospels and guitars and 'I have a dream' speeches? And the black masses in America were – and still are – having a nightmare.'

… I can't turn around without hearing about some 'civil rights advance'! White people seem to think the black man ought to be shouting 'hallelujah'! Four hundred years the white man has had his foot-long knife in the black man's back – and now the white man starts to wiggle the knife out, maybe six inches! The black man's supposed to be grateful? Why, if the white man jerked the knife out, it's still going to leave a scar!

… One of the things that made the Black Muslim Movement grow was its emphasis upon things African. This was the secret to the growth of the Black Muslim Movement. African blood, African origin, African culture, African ties. And you'd be surprised – we discovered that deep within the subconscious of the black man in this country, he is still more African than he is American.

In 1964 Malcolm X was suspended from the Nation of Islam because of his extremist views, and he formed his own organisation, the Organisation of Afro-American Unity. After a pilgrimage to Mecca, he changed his views and adopted a less extreme position. He now urged African Americans to work together with sympathetic whites to end racism. Like King, Malcolm X also died violently. He was assassinated in 1965, by fellow members of the Nation of Islam, after an internal feud in the organisation.

Malcolm X (in the middle wearing African dress) identified strongly with Africa and visited it in 1964. He attended a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Cairo and urged it to support him in condemning the US government for its racial discrimination.

Short-term and long-term gains of the Black Power Movement

The Black Power Movement held regular conferences and encouraged black participation in public affairs. As a result, black mayors were elected in several cities, and programmes to improve housing and facilities were put in place. The movement also encouraged black business and **entrepreneurship** as a

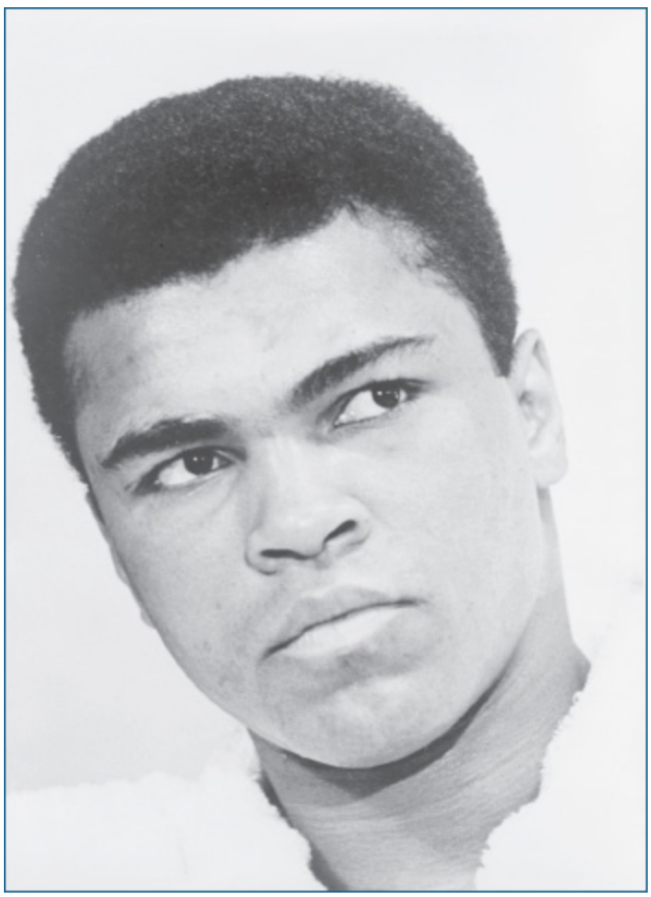
means of promoting economic and social equality, though with limited success. Radical leaders influenced by the ideas of Black Power took over the leadership of the SNCC and CORE, although this led to some disunity as a result.

By the 1970s, the impact of the Black Power Movement lessened. The death of its key leaders and the breakup of Black Power groups like the SNCC were two reasons for this. Another was the success of the Civil Rights Movement in removing **overt** racial discrimination in the southern states. King and his non-violent tactics had wider appeal than the seemingly unrealistic hopes of the Black Power Movement to overthrow white political and cultural power in the USA.

Key words

entrepreneurship
organising and operating business opportunities

overt
obvious; blatant



Another member of the Nation of Islam was the world heavyweight boxing champion, Cassius Clay. After joining, he changed his name to Muhammad Ali. He became a symbol of growing black assertiveness under the Black Power Movement. He criticised American involvement in Vietnam, saying that the Viet Cong were not the enemy of black people. When he was drafted to serve in the US army, and refused, he was stripped of his world title and banned from fighting in the US.

Source J below explains the influence of the Black Power Movement and why it later declined in influ-

ence.

Source J *This source gives a summary of the strengths and limitations of the Black Power Movement. (From J. Bottaro and J. Stanley*, Democratic States, *Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 2011, page 153)*

... the flourishing of black literature, music, fashion and theatre owed much to the influence of these militants, who gave the black community cultural pride and a sense of identity. Their actions also made the government aware of the importance of tackling social and economic issues such as inequitable distribution of income and resources, segregation and education. In addition, the publicity they achieved inspired other minority groups such as the Chicanos and the Native Americans. On the other hand, Black Power supporters lost much of the moral high ground gained by King and led to the break-up of groups like SNCC. Moreover, it was never clear exactly what they wanted. A separate black state? Repatriation to Africa? An end to white rule in Washington?

Conclusion: the progress made towards equality and civil rights by the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements

By the 1970s, institutional and political discrimination against African Americans had been made illegal through the Civil Rights Act (1964) and Voting Rights Act (1965). This was the result of the civil rights campaigns which raised awareness of racial inequality in the USA throughout the country as well as internationally.

However although civil rights had been gained, this did not lead to social and economic equality. The Black Power Movement grew out of dissatisfaction with the continued poverty and exclusion from positions of power of African Americans. It aimed to empower them to compete on an equal basis in a white-dominated America. This was not achieved. Although they raised black morale, increased awareness of the problems faced in the ghettos and set up some useful self-help schemes, the more radical and violent tactics of Black Power organisations failed to attract as much sympathy and support amongst both black and white Americans as the Civil Rights Movement had done. Although many African Americans continued to be **marginalised**, some achieved positions of leadership and wealth, and in 2008 Barack Obama was elected the first black president of the USA, and re-elected in 2012. (The cover picture of this book shows the Capitol in Washington DC where Obama was inaugurated as president.)

Key words

marginalised
treated as less important

Activity 3: (individual) Analyse the leadership of Malcolm X

1 Carmichael and Malcolm X promoted the idea of black self-reliance. Use the text and Source F to explain why. (4×1) (4)

2 Extract information from Sources G and H to explain the logic behind Malcolm X's defence of the use of violence by black Americans. (2×2) (4)

3 Use the text and Source I to explain why Malcolm X was critical of the Civil Rights Movement. (4×2) (8)

4 Using information from Sources G to I, explain why many white Americans feared the message given by Malcolm X. (3×3) (9)

5 Use the text and Source J to explain the impact that the Black Power Movement had and what led to its decline. (6×2) (12)

Using the text:

6 a) In terms of racial equality, explain what long-term successes were achieved. (5×1) (5)

b) Explain what issues still needed to be resolved. (3×1) (3)

THINK AND DISCUSS: Compare the ideas of Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X and decide who you think was the better leader and why. (After this discussion, you could write a practice essay of about 800 words on the same topic.)

Practice essay

'The Black Power Movement promised more than the Civil Rights Movement but delivered less.'

Use information from Units 3.2 and 3.3 to analyse to what extent this statement is accurate.

Assessment

The section of the curriculum covered in Unit 3.1 is for schools-based assessment (and will not be assessed in the examination). Below there are four alternative tasks that can be used for this purpose – one is a source-based assessment and three are research tasks.

Schools-based Assessment

Source-based task – to be completed under test conditions in class.

Key question: What was the nature of civil society protests in the 1960s and 1970s?
Use the text and the sources identified from Unit 3.1 to complete these questions:

1.1 Read Source A in this topic and answer these questions:

1.1.1 According to Source A what kept women from protesting about their situation?

1.1.2 Identify and explain three persuasive techniques used in this source. (3×2) (6)(3×1) (3)

1.2 Read Source B in this topic and answer these questions:

1.2.1 Use your knowledge to give three reasons why NOW would want the 'Law Banning Sex Discrimination in Employment' to be enforced. (3×1) (3)

1.2.2 Identify two ways in which certain demands within this Bill of Rights hoped to help women with families. (2×1) (2)

1.2.3 Explain to what to 'control their reproductive lives' refers and why this was an important issue for women. (2×2) (4)

1.3 Study Sources A and B and answer these questions:

1.3.1 Compare Sources A and B and identify three ways in which they are similar. (3×1) (3)

1.3.2 Identify one way in which Sources A and B are different from each other. (1×2) (2)

1.4 Study Source K (in this topic) and answer these questions:

1.4.1 Explain in what ways the students wanted people's worth to be measured. (Use your own words in your answer.) (3×1) (3)

1.4.2 Use your knowledge and the source to explain why the students thought socialism may be a better economic system to adopt. (2×2) (4)

1.4.3 Assess the extent of support for the student protests in Paris. (3×1) (3)

1.4.4 List the gains made by student protest, according to Source K. (3×1) (3)

1.5 Study Source L (in this topic) and answer this question:

1.5.1 Discuss the connection between America's involvement in the Vietnam War and protest at universities in the USA. (4×1) (4)

1.6 Study Source L and M (in this topic) and answer these questions:

1.6.1 In paragraph 4 of Source L, Hayden summarises Martin Luther King's criticism of the US government and in paragraph 1 of Source M, King's views are given directly. Assess whether Hayden's summary of King is accurate. (2×3) (6)

1.6.2 Explain the ironies pointed out by King in paragraph 2 of Source M. (2×2) (4)

Total [50]

Your research essay will be assessed according to the rubric after Topic 6.

2 **Alternative task: Research**

Research one of the following and write an analytical essay on the topic of your choice of about 1 000–1 200 words. Include full referencing and an accurately set out bibliography. (All work must be your own. For any ideas or quotations you use from other sources, full referencing must be given and you must include an accurate bibliography.) Your essay will be marked according to the rubric after Topic 6.

a) Find and watch a movie that explores one of the themes of civil society protest in the 1960s and 1970s, i.e. women's movement, worker action, Nuclear Disarmament, anti-Vietnam war protests and analyse its historical accuracy and bias. [50]

OR

b) Choose three songs that deal with one of the themes of civil society protest: Women's Movement, student protest and alternative culture, anti-war protest, or focus on one particular musician from the 1960s/1970s, and write an analysis of the attitudes and issues that are raised by the songs/musician and how they reflect the concerns of the time. [50]

OR

c) The 1950s was a decade of remarkable South African women. Write an essay on the life and work of one of the following women and then explain why she should be remembered in our history:

- Lilian Ngoyi
- Albertina Sisulu
- Fatima Meer
- Ruth First
- Helen Joseph
- Dora Tamana
- Ray Alexander [50]

TOPIC 4

Civil resistance in South Africa 1970s and 1980s

What was the nature of civil society resistance after the 1960s?

IN THE 1950s AND 1960s apartheid was entrenched in South Africa and those who resisted apartheid were ruthlessly suppressed. The Sharpeville Massacre (1960), the Rivonia Trial (1964) and the imprisonment of anti-apartheid leaders and banning of organisations such as the ANC and PAC meant that there seemed little hope of change. Opposition was driven underground and into **exile**.

However, in the 1970s and 1980s new forms of civil resistance to apartheid emerged. The Soweto uprising, 1976, was the most striking example of this resistance. It was at least in part influenced by the rise of Black Consciousness: ideas promoted by a group of black students led by Steve Biko. The idea of Black Consciousness was influenced by the Black Power Movement in the USA and encouraged a new sense of black pride and **assertiveness**.

New words

exile
choosing to leave your own country, usually for political reasons

assertiveness
acting forcefully and with confidence

In the 1980s the government tried to make some **reforms** to the apartheid system which was clearly not working. Civil resistance continued to grow, especially in the workplace where it was led by **trade unions**. Civil resistance also increased in wider communities where it was led by civic organisations and anti-apartheid movements such as the United Democratic **Front** (UDF), formed in 1983. By the mid-1980s the government was clearly losing control and it declared a state of emergency.

Pressure on the apartheid state also increased from outside South Africa. News of the protests inside the country led to greater international support for organisations such as the ANC. The international anti-apartheid movement organised campaigns against trade with and investment in South Africa, **boycotts** against sporting and cultural contacts, and a demand for the release of Nelson Mandela. By the late 1980s these were having an effect on Western governments which had previously supported South Africa in the Cold War era, such as the USA and Britain. The collapse of colonial rule in neighbouring states in southern Africa, such as Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, added to the pressure.

Key words

reforms
changes; improvements which modify but do not remove a system

trade union
an organisation working to improve conditions of work and defend the rights of workers

front
a combination of differing political groups and organisations who act together in a common cause

boycott
stay away from, or refuse to use something as a form of protest

This poster encouraged people to oppose the elections for the tricameral parliament.

Timeline for Topic 4

1959	Anti-Apartheid Movement forms in Britain (and in Ireland in 1964)
1968	Formation of South African Students' Organisation by Steve Biko
1973	Wave of strikes gives more power to black trade unions
1975	Independence of Mozambique and Angola
1976	Soweto uprising
1977	Banning of Black Consciousness organisations; death of Steve Biko
1979	Wiehahn Commission – black trade unions legalised
1982	Black Local Authorities Act
1983	Tricameral Constitution; formation of United Democratic Front
1984	Start of Township Revolt
1985	Formation of Congress of South African Trade Unions
	Government declares National State of Emergency
1986	US Congress passes Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act
1989	Mass Democratic Movement – ANC calls for year of rolling mass action to make the country 'ungovernable' End of Cold War
1990	SA government unbans liberation organisations

Timeline tasks

1 According to this timeline, which overseas countries played a role in opposing apartheid?
2 In 1983, what change did the South African government make and how did the resistance organisations respond?
3 What evidence is there that the banning of the Black Consciousness organisations did not end black resistance?
4 What indications are there that trade unions became a main feature in the 1980s?

UNIT 4.1 The challenge of Black Consciousness to the apartheid state

Introduction – The Introduction, up to the end of Activity 1, is not for exam purposes.

At the time of the active civil society protests in the United States and other parts of the world in the 1960s, there was comparatively little open protest in South Africa. However, the 1970s saw a change with the rise of Black Consciousness and the growth of worker and student movements. This resulted in the Soweto uprising in 1976, an uprising which marked the beginning of the end of apartheid.

The nature of the apartheid state in the 1970s and 1980s

As a result of state **repression** there was little protest in South Africa during the 1960s. After the Sharpeville shootings in 1960, the government **banned** the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). The government also increased state control over the media, gave police the power to detain people for indefinite periods without trial, and placed critics under **restriction orders** or **house arrest**. The state became increasingly militarised: huge sums were spent on armaments, and all young white men had to do military service.

New words

restriction orders
laws which placed controls on someone's freedom of movement and expression

house arrest
conditions under which a person had to remain at home and have no contact with other people

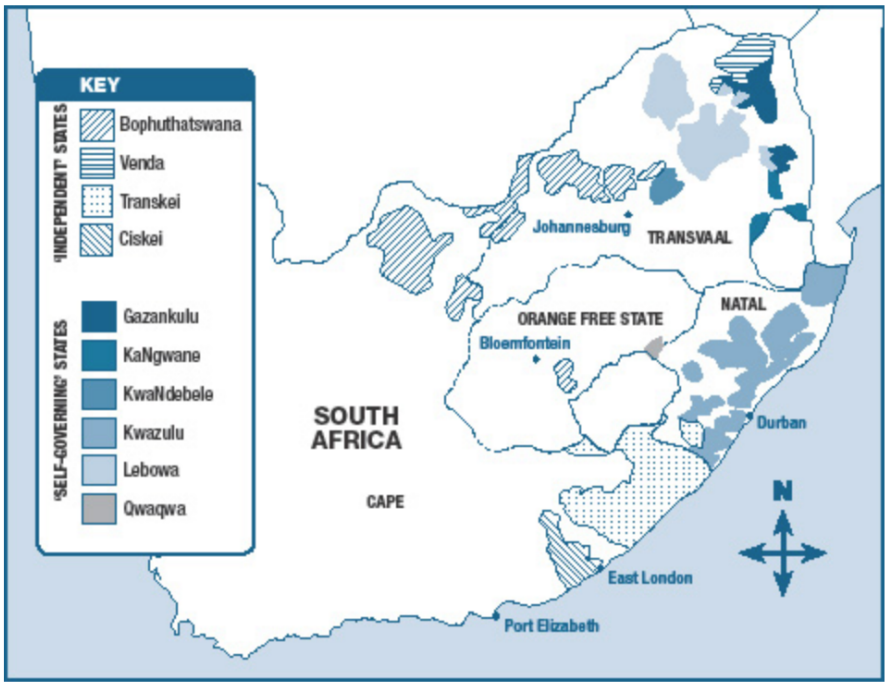
The apartheid state tried to control urbanisation. It tried to confine Africans to the homelands (called 'Bantustans'), a policy known as 'separate development'. In 1970 all Africans had to become citizens of one of the homelands instead of being accepted as South African citizens. The government tried to promote 'self-government' under homeland chiefs, and a form of 'independence' was given to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei, although they remained totally dependent on the government in Pretoria. This was an attempt to counter the demand for political rights within the rest of South Africa. Although some homeland leaders co-operated, most people realised that this was a way of denying black South Africans **political rights** in the rest of the country. No foreign states recognised the independence of the homelands.

Key words

repression
the suppression of opposition

banned
outlawed; made illegal

political rights
the right to vote and stand for political office



All black South Africans officially became citizens of an ethnically based homeland. This meant that they had no rights as citizens of South Africa. The homelands were not economically viable and this left people dependent on the South African economy to find jobs. In this way the state had a steady supply of cheap labour.

In the early 1970s the tide began to turn against the apartheid government. The economy started to decline because of the 1973 world oil crisis, when the oil-producing countries of the Middle East raised the price of oil. The economy was also affected by a lack of skilled labour, a direct result of the policy of Bantu Education. In 1973, the general dissatisfaction led to a wave of strikes involving 60 000 black workers, mainly in Durban and the East Rand. The strikers managed to win better wages and to create the first independent black trade unions.

In 1975, after years of fighting against Portuguese rule, Angola and Mozambique gained independence. The Frelimo Party (Mozambique Liberation Front), under the leadership of Samora Machel, came to power in Mozambique, and in Angola the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) gained control. Because of this, the ANC and PAC could establish bases closer to South Africa. The liberation of the former Portuguese colonies gave hope to many black South Africans that things could change in South Africa too. This was clearly demonstrated by the outbreak of protests in 1976 in Soweto and elsewhere.

Protesting workers in Durban 1973. In the 1960s only about 2000 workers took part in strike action each year. In the first three months of 1973 there were 160 strikes involving over 60 000 workers. The strikers focused on work-place issues and were successful in gaining support for the trade union movement. This would play a crucial role in resistance in the 1980s.

During the 1980s, the apartheid government under President PW Botha adopted a new policy, known as the 'total strategy'. This policy involved some reforms in an attempt to prevent further resistance and to retain power. The 'separate development' policy of homeland independence was dropped. Following the demands of industrialists, Africans living in the cities were given the right to live there permanently, although the movement of people from the homelands was still strictly controlled. African workers were also given limited trade union rights. The segregation of some urban facilities was relaxed and some multi-racial private schools were allowed, although the state education system remained racially segregated. But despite these reforms, Africans were given no political rights outside the homelands. The government hoped that these limited reforms would make many Africans lose interest in more **radical** challenges to apartheid.

Key word
radical revolutionary; far-reaching; drastic

At the same time 'total strategy' gave the state more power to suppress opposition, which government propaganda presented as a communist threat. The army was given increased powers to enforce control in townships. The army also sent raids into neighbouring countries to attack ANC guerrilla bases and to

support organisations opposed to the Frelimo and MPLA governments in Mozambique and Angola.

This is a photograph of SADF soldiers and armoured vehicles in 1986. The army was used to patrol and control the townships. Most of the soldiers in the army were young ***conscripts*** *who had to do military service. If they refused, they could be sentenced to six years in prison. The photo was taken in the coloured township of Bosmont in Johannesburg on 6 February 1987.*

New word

conscripts
citizens who are forced to do a period of national service in the army

The opposition – underground, in prison and in exile

After they were banned in 1960, the ANC and PAC established armed wings to continue resistance underground. They planned to fight a guerrilla war to overthrow the government. But the leaders of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (or MK, the armed wing of the ANC) were arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment after the Rivonia Trial in 1964. Plans by *Poqo* (the armed wing of the PAC) also came to nothing when their leaders were arrested and imprisoned.

After the banning of the ANC and PAC, these organisations sent some of their leaders out of the country to set up headquarters in exile. Oliver Tambo led the ANC in exile from its headquarters in Lusaka in Zambia and the PAC established a base first in Lesotho and then in Tanzania. But, although the ANC and PAC survived in exile, they did not have much influence in South Africa during the 1960s and early 1970s. It was difficult for them to infiltrate South Africa, because of the military strength of the SADF and the ring of white-controlled allied countries to the north. Many of the ANC and PAC camps were isolated and poorly equipped. The PAC was particularly weakened by the difficulty of maintaining an Africanist struggle in exile. The ANC obtained greater international support, although it was treated with suspicion in the Cold War era by many Western powers that suspected the organisation of socialist sympathies.

After the independence of Mozambique and Angola (in 1975), and Zimbabwe (in 1980), it was easier for MK guerrilla groups to enter South Africa. But the exiled organisations were less significant than the massive increase of internal opposition within South Africa after the 1976 Soweto uprising and in the

1980s. Organisations such as the United Democratic Front, founded in 1983, provided a front within the country for ANC sympathisers, many of whom had remained in South Africa 'underground', working to spread opposition to apartheid in secret.

Activity 1: (pairs) Summarise information in a visual diagram

From the information given in the text, draw two mind maps – one headed 'The nature of the apartheid state' and the other 'The opposition – underground, in prison and in exile'. (Keep your mind maps, as they will give a useful content framework when studying the two units in this topic.) (N/A)

The rest of this unit is examinable

The nature and aims of Black Consciousness

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a new generation of black students began to organise resistance within South Africa. Many of them were students at the '**bush colleges**' established for black students under the system of Bantu Education, such as the University of Zululand and the University of the North. They adopted a set of ideas, known as Black Consciousness. It was an attitude of mind rather than a political movement. The use of the term 'black' was a direct challenge to the apartheid term 'non-white'. The movement defined black people as all those who were oppressed by apartheid, including Indian and coloured people. In this way, it promoted a new unified identity.

The main aims of Black Consciousness were:

- to raise the self-respect and confidence of black people to liberate themselves
- to promote pride in black identity, culture and history
- to stop working with white **liberals** in multi-racial organisations, but to encourage them to educate other white people to change their attitudes
- to promote unity amongst black people by mobilising them to fight against apartheid, in particular against the divisions caused by separate development.

Key words

bush colleges
segregated universities established for black students under apartheid, often located in remote or rural areas

liberals
supporting individual freedom and in favour of moderate political and social reform

Many of these ideas echoed the views of the Africanist and PAC traditions of the 1950s, which had stressed that South Africa belonged to black people alone. There were also similarities with Black Power in the USA at the time, which stressed the idea of black assertiveness. The Black Consciousness movement developed in the context of the international youth revolt of the late 1960s, and most of its supporters were students. It was encouraged, too, by the granting of independence to African colonies and growing international criticism of South Africa. The followers of Black Consciousness were also influenced by the ideas of new leaders in independent Africa, such as Kwame Nkrumah (in Ghana), Julius

Nyerere (in Tanzania) and Kenneth Kaunda (in Zambia).

The driving force behind Black Consciousness was the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), established in 1968 under the leadership of Steve Biko.

Source A *In this extract from the SASO* **Policy Manifesto**, *their Black Consciousness ideas are clearly stated. (Quoted in J. Schadeberg*, Nelson Mandela and the Rise of the ANC, *Jonathan Ball and Ad Donker, 1990, page 94–5)*

SASO is a black student organisation working for the liberation of the black man, first from **psychological** oppression by themselves through inferiority complexes and secondly from physical oppression occurring out of living in a white racist society.

We define black people as those who are by law or tradition, politically economically and socially discriminated against as a group in South African society, and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards realisation of their aspirations.

New words

policy manifesto
a document which sets out the values, principles and aims of an organisation.

psychological
mental and emotional aspects

Source B *Nyameko Barney Pityana explains how Black Consciousness thinking would empower people to change their lives. Published in the SASO newsletter* We Blacks.

Blacks need to build themselves into a position of non-dependence on Whites. They must work towards a self-sufficient social, political and economic unit. In this manner they will help themselves towards a deeper realisation of their potential and worth as self-respecting people. The confidence thus generated will give them a sense of pride and awareness. This is all we need in South Africa for a meaningful change to the status quo.

The role of Steve Biko: his ideas and writing

Steve Biko was born in King William's Town in the Eastern Cape in 1946. After school he studied medicine at the University of Natal. While he was there he became active in student politics through the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). However, NUSAS was dominated by white liberals, and in 1968 Biko broke away to form SASO, a separate union for black students. He believed that blacks should not rely on help from whites (even if they were against apartheid) but should lead their own resistance. This meant rejecting the non-racialism of the ANC and the Freedom Charter.

Source C *Black students had been part of the non-racial NUSAS but they argued that a separate black organisation, SASO, was needed. Sibongile Mkabela explains why they believed this was necessary. (From an interview quoted in Christine Qunta*, Women in Southern Africa, *Skotaville, Braamfontein, page 117)*

It was decided at our conference that we could not include white students in our ranks for the simple reason that they are our oppressors and cannot at the same time participate in our liberation. There is no such thing as a poor white. They have a choice. Everything is in their favour – laws, voting, job protection and welfare. There is then no basis to identify with us. They can appear to move to our society but we cannot trust them, as they can hop back. We do not have that choice.

Source D *In this extract Steve Biko explains the reasons for the split from NUSAS. (Quoted in A. Leas*, Questions of Today: South Africa: Reform and Revolution, *Batsford, London, 1992, page 94)*

When we broke away to form an exclusive black movement we were accused of being anti-white. But with many more whites at university, the non-racial students' union was dominated by white liberals. They made all the decisions for us. We needed time to look at our own problems, and not leave them to people without experience of the terrible conditions in the black townships or the system of Bantu education.

Biko was influenced by the ideas of a French-speaking writer, Frantz Fanon, who was well-known for his studies on resistance to French rule in Algeria. In his best known book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon examined the economic and psychological effects of imperialism on colonised people. He believed that it was only through violence that colonised people could free themselves from this psychological oppression. Like Fanon, Biko believed that blacks in South Africa needed to free themselves from the psychological state of being treated as inferior after centuries of colonialism and apartheid. He believed that once blacks had liberated themselves in this way, and gained psychological, physical and political power, then non-racial organisations would be able to operate properly.

Biko believed that all those classified as 'non-white' by the apartheid government (including Indians and coloureds) should see themselves as 'black' and that this would be the first step towards their liberation. However, he did not see Black Consciousness as black racism, and did not call for revenge on white society. He saw it instead as a means of creating a sense of solidarity and pride in black South Africans.

The photograph below shows Steve Biko (standing) while he addresses the second general students' council of SASO at the University of Natal, July 1971.

Source E *Steve Biko was the Publications Director of the South African Students Organisation (SASO). He wrote numerous articles explaining and promoting the philosophy of Black Consciousness. He used the* ***pseudonym*** *'Frank Talk' after he was banned by the government. Many of his writings were published in a book published in 1978 called* I Write What I Like. *The quotations in this source all come from that book.*

New word
pseudonym a false or a made up, chosen name

'The blacks are tired of standing at the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves and all by themselves.' (from *Letter to SRC Presidents*)

'Black Consciousness is an attitude of the mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude.' (from *The Quest for a True Humanity*)

'The only vehicle for change are these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth.' (from *We Blacks*)

'Merely by describing yourself as black you have started on a road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being.' (from *The Definition of Black Consciousness*)

Activity 2: (individual) Analyse the impact of Black Consciousness thinking and the role of Steve Biko

Use the text to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise.

1 Give a definition of Black Consciousness. (3×2) (6)
2 Identify the political movements in South Africa and the world that influenced the development of Black Consciousness thinking. (4×1) (4)
3 The main supporters and promoters of Black Consciousness ideas were the black university students. Why is this significant? (3×1) (3)
4 Identify the main issues raised in each quotation given in Source E.
5 Explain why they chose to be identified by the word 'black' and(4×2) (8)
to whom did this refer? (4×1) (4)
6 Explain what is meant in Source A when it says that black people must free themselves from 'psychological oppression by themselves through inferiority complexes'. (4×1) (4)
7 Using Sources A to E, explain how Black Consciousness helped people to empower themselves. (10)
8 Use the text and Sources B, C and D to answer these questions:
   a) Explain why black students felt that a separate black student organisation (SASO) was necessary. (10)
   b) Evaluate whether there is any validity to the charge that the creation of SASO was 'anti-white'. (2×2) (4)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for questions 7 and 8(a).

THINK AND DISCUSS: If Steve Biko was alive today, suggest what message he would give to young people in terms of how to solve the problems they face.

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)

The Black Consciousness Movement was a broad term for a number of different organisations which were formed in the early 1970s. In 1972, SASO established the Black People's Convention (BPC) as an **umbrella body** for organisations with similar views. One of these was the South African Students' Movement (SASM), which had been formed in Soweto in 1971 by school students. They encouraged students to form Students' Representative Councils to express their needs and grievances.

New word
umbrella body a controlling body under which other organisations operate

Source F *This document sets out the aims and goals of the student movement. It clearly shows the influence of Black Consciousness ideas of self-reliance and activism. (It is quoted in Philip Bonner and Lauren Segal*, Soweto: A History, *Maskew Miller Longman, Cape Town, 1998, page 80 from Wits Historical Papers – Karis/Gerhart Collection.)*

To liberate the Black community as a whole, i.e. physically and psychologically, the movement shall:

a) promote the spirit of self-reliance amongst the students, i.e. by writing Black poetry and organising relevant symposiums.
b) promote a spirit of fraternity amongst the students, i.e. by solving financial problems facing individuals especially amongst the students within the school premises
c) heighten the sense of awareness amongst students, i.e. by the publication of newsletters and reading of poetry.

Newsletters should:

i) criticise all racial segregated sport bodies
ii) criticise all government created bodies like Bantustans, etc.
iii) criticise and discourage foreign investment
iv) bear clarity on the background culture and education of the Black man
v) promote seminars
vi) organise and commemorate eventful days such as Heroes' Day.

The growth of the trade union movement in the early 1970s led to the establishment of the BPC-aligned Black Allied Workers' Union in 1973. The BPC also established the Black Communities Project to organise black self-help schemes such as economic **co-operatives**, literacy campaigns, health projects and cultural forums. It provided legal advice, and set up clinics and social upliftment projects in disadvantaged communities.

New word

co-operative
something organised and run for the benefit of its members, often members of a community

At first, Black Consciousness organisations had little contact with the ANC or PAC in exile. The ANC's confirmation of its non-racial stance at its conference in Tanzania in 1969 contradicted the Black Consciousness Movement's position. But there were enough similarities between the two movements for them to set up secret links in the early 1970s.

Government reactions and the challenges posed by the ideas of Black Consciousness to the state

The apartheid government's response to the Black Consciousness Movement was at first relatively positive. It thought that the concept of black separateness and a distinctive black culture fitted in well with the policy of separate development. Further, it thought that Black Consciousness was a philosophical movement that would have no direct political impact. Indeed, the ANC initially thought that the Black Consciousness Movement would have limited ability to organise political resistance.

But when it became clear that the movement was strongly anti-government and was opposed to the homelands policy, the government expelled students who were members of SASO from universities and harassed SASO and BPC leaders. Black Consciousness gave rise to greater self-awareness and confidence amongst black South Africans. This was shown most clearly by an event which took both the ANC in exile and the apartheid government by surprise – the 1976 Soweto uprising.

The 1976 Soweto uprising

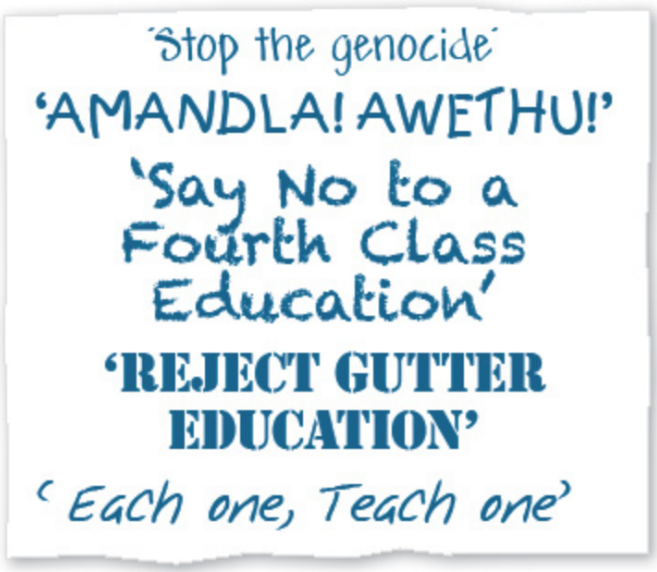
School students in black schools throughout South Africa were angry about the inferior system of Bantu Education, which had been in place since 1953. By the early 1970s the system had created a generation of angry young people, who were increasingly determined to bring about change.

Many of them joined organisations, such as the South African Students' Movement (SASM) and the Black Consciousness Organisation, which grew rapidly from 1973 onwards, especially in Soweto. SASM branches functioned as forums for discussion of educational and political matters, and SASM produced a militant newspaper, *Thrust*. In these ways the influence of Black Consciousness began to spread amongst school student activists. The government response to SASM was to ban the newspaper and to imprison or ban many of its leaders. As a result, some groups of SASM members began to support a more radical approach and set up secret links with the ANC in exile.

In 1976, when the government tried to enforce a ruling that certain subjects be taught through the medium of Afrikaans, students in Soweto boycotted classes in protest. The leaders of SASM supported the protests. Teachers and students who spoke against the policy were detained. On 13 June 1976, at a SASM meeting, an Action Committee was formed. It was later renamed the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC). The Council planned a march for 16 June as a mass demonstration to protest against the new language policy. During this march the police overreacted and opened fire on the protesting students. This sparked off nearly a year of protest action, which became known as the Soweto uprising.

Source G *Khotso Seatlholo made this statement on behalf of the Soweto Student Representative Council on 29 October 1976. It was printed in* Pro Veritate, *November 1976 under the title 'A Soweto student speaks'.*

'We have the full right to stand up and reject the whole system of apartheid. We cannot accept it as our fathers did. We are not carbon copies of our fathers. Where they failed, we will succeed. The mistakes they made will never be repeated. They carried the struggle up to where they could. We are very grateful to them. But now the struggle is ours. The ball of liberation is in our hands. The Black student will stand up fearlessly and take arms against a political system ... We shall rise up and destroy a political ideology that is designed to keep us in a perpetual state of oppression and subserviency.'



Students who took part in the Soweto uprising carried placards with hand-written slogans like these.

The events in Soweto were followed by countrywide protests. Although the Soweto uprising started as a protest against education policies, it became a general uprising against the whole system of apartheid and repressive government policies, with teachers, parents and workers supporting the students. Protest actions took many forms: boycotts, clashes with the police, the destruction of government property, and community **stay-aways.**

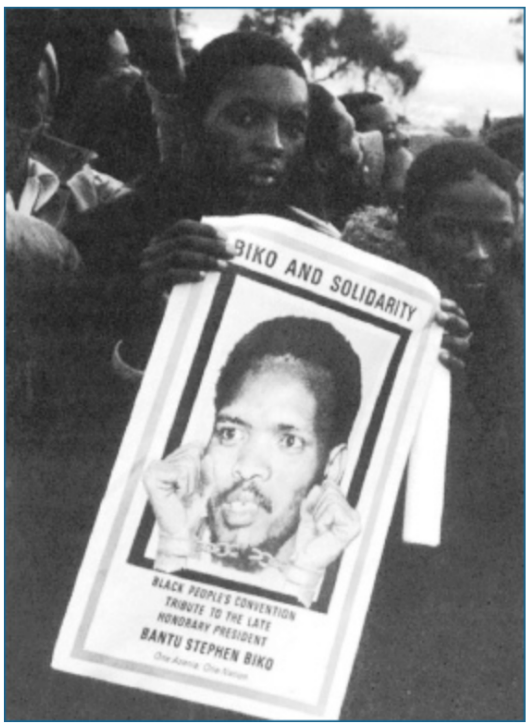
Although the government backed down on its Afrikaans language policy in July, schools throughout the country continued to be disrupted until the following year. Many student leaders were detained, over a thousand were killed, mainly through police action, and many thousands more wounded. During the Soweto Student Uprising the ANC, although banned, had maintained contact with students and issued pamphlets. But it was the ideas of Black Consciousness which had inspired the protests. However, the ANC's strength was boosted when over 12 000 students left the country to join the ANC in exile and receive military training. After Soweto, armed activity inside South Africa increased as the armed wings of the ANC and PAC were able to use their new recruits in **sabotage** missions into the country.

Key words

stay-away
stay away from work or school as a protest action

sabotage
damage something as a form of protest

In 1977 the government banned 17 anti-apartheid organisations, including SASO, the SASM, the BPC and the SSRC. The banning of all organisations with links to the Black Consciousness movement suggests that the government thought the ideology posed a threat to white domination and that this ideology was the main reason for the Soweto Student Uprising. The government also arrested Black Consciousness leaders, including Steve Biko, who died in prison in September 1977 as a result of brutal maltreatment by the police.



A mourner at Biko's funeral in 1977 carries a poster showing Biko breaking the chains of oppression. Biko became unconscious as a result of brain injuries after being interrogated by police in Port Elizabeth. Naked and shackled, he was driven in the back of a police vehicle all the way to Pretoria where he was declared dead.

The Soweto uprising was the biggest and most sustained challenge that the National Party had faced since coming to power in 1948. Although the government suppressed the uprising, the events had far-reaching consequences. Black Consciousness had brought a new spirit of defiance. Apartheid was beginning to fail, although it was not until the 1980s that this became obvious.

High school students in Soweto, marching in 1976. The words on their banners are: 'We do not want Afrikaans' and 'To hell with Afrikaans'.

Source H *In this extract Steve Biko comments on the role of Black Consciousness (BC) in the Soweto Student Uprising. He says the impact of an idea is not easy to measure and that much of the impact of BC happened within the heart and mind of each individual. (From 'Steve Biko Speaks for Himself' in* News and Letters, *November 1977)*

Where is the evidence of support among the younger generation for BPC? In one word: Soweto! The boldness, dedication, sense of purpose, and clarity of analysis of the situation – all of these things are definitely a result of Black Consciousness ideas among the young generation in Soweto and elsewhere. Indeed, this is not easy to measure for the power of a movement lies in the fact that it can indeed change the habits of people. This change is not the result of force but of dedication, of moral persuasion. This is what has gotten through to the young people. They realise we are not dealing with mere bread and butter issues.

Activity 3: (individual) Assess to what extent Black Consciousness ideas influenced the Soweto uprising

Use the text and your knowledge to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise.

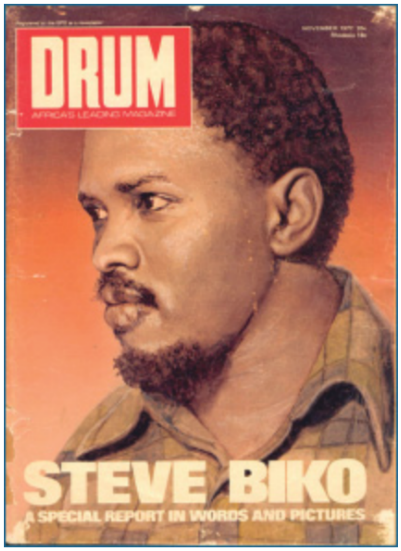
1 a) What was the government's initial reaction to the Black Consciousness Movement? (3×1) (3)
   b) Explain why they changed their view. (3×1) (3)
2 What were the results of the Soweto uprising? (6×1) (6)
3 Explain what the following were:
   a) BPC (2×1) (2)
   b) SASO (2×1) (2)
   c) SASM (2×1) (2)
   d) Black Allied Workers' Union (2×1) (2)
   e) Black Communities Project. (2×2) (4)
4 Study Source F and explain why it is useful to learn more about SASO.
5 The Soweto uprising must be seen in the context of the 1970s as a whole. Use the mind map you made in Activity 1 and the text to explain what events occurred that would have influenced the students' decision to protest. (3×2) (6) (10×2) (20)
6 Use the text and Sources G and H to analyse how Black Consciousness influenced the Soweto uprising. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 6.

The legacy of Black Consciousness in South African politics

Black Consciousness organisations were banned after 1976. A new organisation which took up their political ideas, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), was formed in 1978. (The name 'Azania' comes from an old Greek name for the east coast of Africa.) AZAPO gained a strong following at the University of the North, at Turfloop. The organisation also had some support in Soweto, mainly amongst intellectuals and journalists, notably those on the *Post* and *Sowetan* newspapers. Many AZAPO supporters were those who had been exposed to the ideas of Black Consciousness on black university campuses in the early 1970s.

However, AZAPO never matched the appeal of the ANC or PAC and failed to have much impact in the 1980s. Many Black Consciousness sympathisers joined the exiled or underground ANC after 1976. The ideas of Black Consciousness certainly had a major impact on South African politics. It renewed a sense of self-pride and assertiveness which had been diminished in the 1960s and which emerged again in the mass-based politics of the 1980s.



This shows the cover of Drum *magazine that was published in November 1977, two months after Biko's death. It included a major story on his life and included quotations from him.* Drum *was the most widely read magazine in Africa at the time.*

Source I *Extracts from interviews with young people who were involved in the 1976 Soweto uprising. They are quoted in Julie Fredrickse*, South Africa: A Different Kind of War, *Ravan, Johannesburg, 1997, page 15.*

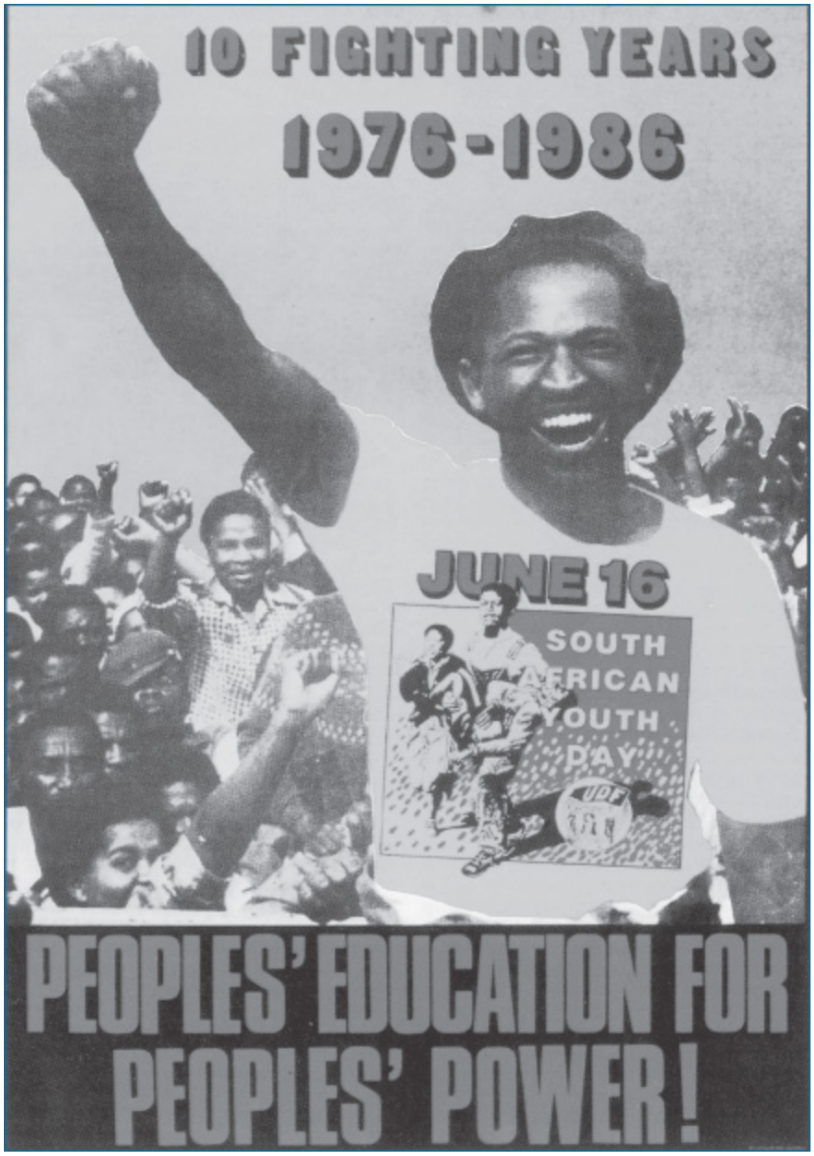
Siphiwe: 'The thing that made me politically minded was the influence I got from 1976, because so many of our brothers and sisters were shot dead for their rights ...'

Ben: 'My awareness was limited because of my schooling … One of the things they wanted us to believe is that nobody can change the system as it is, in fact, that it is God's wish that we live this kind of life ... Because of the challenge that was presented to the system by the students, I began to realise that, no, these things are man-made and it is possible to change things.'

Peter: 'June '76 … trained the blacks to use their own initiative and not to depend on other people. It motivated us, especially the youth, to become more powerful.'

Jabulani: 'The main problem is that people are scared. That is why so many people, they just keep quiet about politics. But personally, I am not worried. I believe that no amount of such fear, and no amount of propaganda, will stop the mental revolution in this country. And no matter how they try to hinder us from getting the right kind of influences to counteract our inferior education, change will come.'

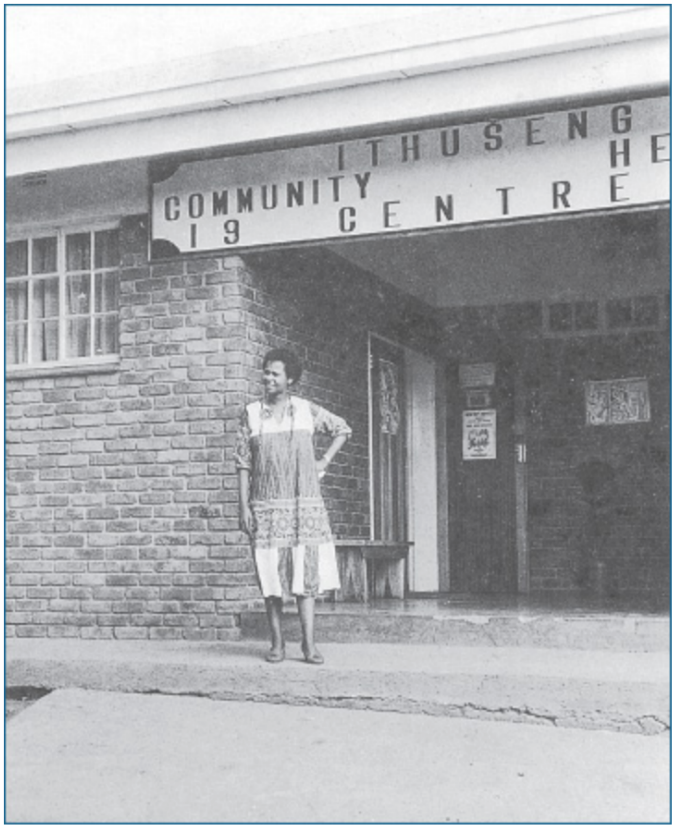
Source J *This resistance poster from 1986 commemorates 10 years of struggle since the Soweto uprising. The famous photograph of the students carrying Hector Pieterson (a 12-year-old boy who was shot and killed by the police during the protest) is included in the middle. The spirit of confidence and defiance that emerged from the uprisings was seen in the resistance of the 1980s. Today the Soweto uprising is commemorated by Youth Day on 16 June.*



Black Consciousness influenced some Christian theologians who developed what they described as 'Black Theology'. Black theology emphasised the moral need to resist apartheid and argued that Christians should also be political activists.

Black Consciousness also gave momentum to African-led community and social welfare organisations, such as health projects and welfare clinics. For example, the Zanempilo (meaning 'The One Bringing Health') Community Health Clinic was set up by Black Consciousness medical students near King William's Town in the Eastern Cape. The clinic became a model for primary health care for the poorest members of rural areas who had little access to medical facilities in the large cities.

Supporters of Black Consciousness also set up rural home industries for women, and organised leadership training for young black activists. Many of these activists became important political and management leaders after apartheid ended. An example of such a leader is Mamphela Ramphele, who later became a university vice-chancellor and a director of the World Bank, and in 2013 founded Agang. Other Black Consciousness leaders who went on to hold important positions in post-apartheid South Africa were Barney Pityana (who became head of the Human Rights Commission and principal of the University of South Africa) and Tito Mboweni (who became Governor of the Reserve Bank).



This photograph shows the entrance to the Ithuseng Community Health Centre in Lenyeye, in Mpumalanga. The woman is Mamphela Ramphele who was the doctor in charge. She had been banished to this rural area in 1977 because of her involvement in Black Consciousness.

Source K *This extract is from the fifth Steve Biko Lecture given by former state president and leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela. It was given at the University of Cape Town, 10 September 2004. (The Steve Biko lecture is an annual lecture jointly organised with the Steve Biko Organisation to 'commemorate the life and death of Biko and to celebrate his courage and leadership as a political activist.' – UCT website)*

We may benefit greatly from again reflecting upon the role and power of consciousness, as understood by Biko, in the development and shaping of the quality of a society.

We South Africans have succeeded quite admirably in putting in place policies, structures, processes and implementation procedures for the transformation and development of our country …

[But] we as a nation and people might have crucially fallen behind since the attainment of democracy. The values of human solidarity that once drove our quest for a humane society seem to have been replaced, or are being threatened, by a crass materialism and pursuit of social goals of instant gratification. One of the challenges of our time … is to re-instil in the consciousness of our people that sense of human solidarity, of being in the world for one another and because of and through others. It is, as Biko did at that particular moment in history, to excite the consciousness of people with the humane possibilities of change.

'In time,' he said then, 'we shall be in a position to bestow on South Africa the greatest possible gift – a more human face.' And he inspired an emerging generation to take faith in that assertion and possibility. Faith in the possibility to build a qualitatively better world asks to be re-kindled.

Source L *When South Africa became a democracy in 1994, freedom of speech and thought were protected in the Bill of Rights in the Constitution. A feature of a democratic society is an open and healthy culture of debate. In an article published in* Weekly Mail, *13-19 September 1996, Vuyisa Qunta, publicity and information secretary of AZAPO, points out that this is not the case. (AZAPO is a political party which supports Black Consciousness.)*

Debate is Steve Biko's legacy:
The enduring memory I have from addressing a group of pro-government students recently is the expression 'you must not say …' They objected to hearing opinions and points of view very different to their own ... This starkly contrasts with the willingness of Steve Biko and his peers to hear out and tackle opposing views on any issue. Yes, there has been a shift from that ethic and from many other views and values formulated by the founders of the Black Consciousness Movement. While this shift has been made by the dominant parties in the 1990s, it should not be imposed on those who uphold the validity of Black Consciousness.

Activity 4: (groups) Assess the legacy of Black Consciousness

1 Study Sources K and L:
   a) Identify what they say about the state of democracy in South Africa after 1994. (2×3) (6)
   b) What aspects of Biko's thinking do they suggest we need in South African politics today? (2×2) (4)
2 Read the Skills Support information on the next page on 'How to assess the importance of oral testimony as evidence' and answer these questions.
   a) Source I is made up of extracts from oral evidence given in interviews by young people who lived through this period. In what ways would having oral testimony of the youth be valuable for historians studying this period? (4×1) (4)
   b) In what ways is this evidence limited? (3×1) (3)
3 Assess whether it is correct to say that Black Consciousness had little or no impact on political organisations after the 1970s. Explain your view by referring to the text and Sources I and J in a paragraph. (10)
4 The students of this period organised poetry readings and cultural events to promote African identity and culture. In your group, put together such a cultural presentation. Your presentation should be about 10 minutes. It can include music and poetry by African artists, African dance styles, quotations from well-known African leaders or writers, and so on. See the table below to see what is expected. (20)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 3.

Level	The learner has	Mark out of 20
4	Selected excellent examples and presented them with enthusiasm, creativity and interest; has made insightful observations and interacted effectively with the class	16 – 20
3	Selected good examples and presented them with enthusiasm and interest; has made some effective observations and interacted well with the class	12 – 15
2	Selected poor examples and presented them with some interest but not very effectively	7 – 11
1	Selected poor examples or has no examples and presentation is dull or insubstantial	1 – 6

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to assess the value and limitations of oral testimony as evidence

The value of oral or eyewitness accounts from the time

- They give direct evidence of the opinions and attitudes of the people involved
- They show the immediate responses and put across the emotions of the people
- They are important to fill out certain parts of our knowledge that would otherwise be absent, for example:
  - in a country where many people are not literate and so leave no written record
  - when the state has control over what is published because of **censorship** regulations.

The limitations of oral or eyewitness accounts from the time

- They are not objective – they will be biased depending on the person's relation to the content
- They tend not to give broad overviews or analyses
- They may not be representative of the time, so we must be careful not to make generalisations about people's attitudes based on too few accounts.

New word
censorship restrictions to the freedom of the press

This is the Hector Pieterson Memorial built in Orlando West, Soweto, in the early 1990s. It commemorates the youth who gave their lives in the struggle for freedom. Hector was the first child shot and killed in the Soweto uprising.

INFORMAL RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION: Interview people in your community about their views on the influence of the Black Consciousness Movement and what aspects of Black Consciousness thinking they think could still be useful today.

Although historians see the Soweto uprising as the year in which the tide began to turn against the National Party government, the 1980s were the crucial turning point. At the beginning of the 1980s, the ANC and other opposition parties were in exile, political leaders were in jail, and the government seemed to have enough power and military force to maintain its control. However, by the mid-1980s, it was clear that the apartheid government was facing a crisis. By the end of the decade, wide-ranging internal resistance and international pressure had set the scene for the collapse of apartheid.

Government attempts to reform apartheid

After the Soweto uprising, the apartheid government changed its strategy – it began to mix reform with repression. Under Prime Minister P.W. Botha, who led the National Party from 1978 to 1989, the government developed a policy which it called 'Total Onslaught – Total Strategy'. Government propaganda tried to make people believe that communists (including the Soviet Union and Cuba) were plotting to seize power in South Africa through military attacks, protests and international criticism. They called this alleged **conspiracy** a 'total onslaught'. Using this rather outdated Cold War propaganda, they adopted a 'total strategy' to meet this **onslaught**. This involved an increased military build-up, censorship, the banning of people, organisations and political rallies, detentions without trial, and from 1985 a national state of emergency in which the police and army had extra power to take action against protestors. At the same time this was accompanied by limited reform in an attempt to win support from the growing black middle class.

New words
conspiracy plot
onslaught attack

The contradictions of apartheid emerge

The system of apartheid was designed to keep black workers as providers of manual labour in the economy. The policies of Bantu Education, the **colour bar** in industry, the pass laws and the homeland system were all part of this design. But as the economy began to grow, more jobs were available in industry and there was an increasing need for skilled workers. As a result, there was pressure from business leaders and from black workers for the government to reform its policies affecting labour.

Key word
colour bar segregation in the workplace; the reservation of certain categories of work for white workers

Source A *The government's mixture of reform and repression is captured in this cartoon by Zapiro. Prime Minister P.W. Botha is drawn as both the good doctor (who is about to give the*

patient medicines and has an armband saying 'Reform') and the oppressive policeman who is beating up the patient (a South African citizen) while naming people and organisations opposed to the state. Notice that the face of the patient is a distorted map of South Africa.

The pass system breaks down

As the demand for labour increased, more people moved from the homelands to the cities in spite of the pass laws. Many women were determined to join their husbands in the cities and the number of self-built informal settlements expanded rapidly. The state tried to prevent this, using arrests and forced removals and by destroying the informal settlements, but the move from the homelands to the towns continued. As the rate of urbanisation increased, the number of people charged with breaking the pass laws increased too – to an average of 540 000 cases each year. The courts and the prison system were overloaded, and the pass system began to break down. In the early 1980s, there were fewer **prosecutions** under the pass laws; and finally the pass system was completely abolished in 1986. This meant that the government's vision of 'separate development' in independent homelands could no longer exist.

New words
prosecution being charged in a court of law

Labour movements become more powerful

For decades, the economy had depended on black workers who were barred from forming trade unions. But as the demand for labour increased, workers began to voice their demands for legally recognised unions. Business leaders also realised the need for a reliable form of communication with worker demands. A government appointed committee, the Wiehahn Commission, recommended in 1979 that black trade unions should be legally recognised. At the same time, the policy of job reservation was also relaxed.

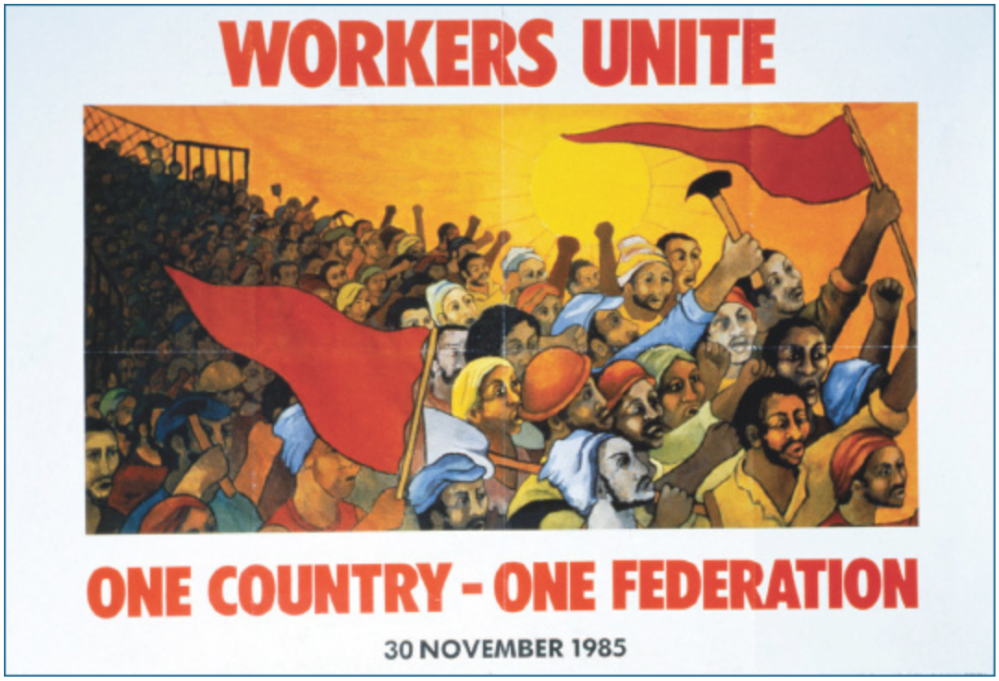
After this, union membership expanded rapidly, from only 57 000 registered black members in 1980 to over half a million by 1984. New unions were formed, such as the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) in 1979 and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in 1982. But union leaders recognised that for the unions to become a powerful political force, they would need to unite and develop a national base. This happened in 1985 when the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was formed. Most, but not all, of the existing trade unions joined COSATU, which initially represented over 500 000 workers. Another smaller trade union was UWUSA, which was linked to Inkatha, the Zulu political and cultural organisation.

Source B *After much debate, COSATU adopted this logo which includes male and female workers and the COSATU slogan: 'An Injury to One is an Injury to All'. This meant that workers had a stronger sense of unity (solidarity) and would have more power through* ***collective bargaining*** *and action.*

New words

collective bargaining
negotiations between employers and workers over wages and working conditions

Source C *A poster made for the launch of COSATU in 1985. It is based on a mural at COSATU offices in Cape Town. COSATU worked to improve workers' rights but it also promoted worker self-expression and on-going education. An independent worker culture developed, out of which worker poetry, stories, plays, art and music emerged.*



These workers demonstrated their commitment to working for change in the numerous strikes that took place in response to the economic recession of the 1980s. One issue on which the unions focused was the pass system. The unions appealed to employers to oppose the government's heavy-handed implementation of the pass laws. Although employers were reluctant to become involved in township issues, by 1984 the unions were applying increased pressure on employers. As a result, some powerful employers urged government to abolish the pass laws. So the growing power of the unions was a key reason for the scrapping of the pass laws in 1986.

The economy is dependent on black labour

It was clear by the 1980s that the South African economy was dependent on black labour. The old apartheid Bantustan policy, by which black workers were kept in the homelands and only allowed temporary employment in the rest of South Africa as migrant labourers, was not working. Employers in manufacturing industries required a stable and skilled labour force and this meant employing blacks as permanent labour. This became clear in the 1980s when the manufacturing sector stopped growing. One of the reasons was the lack of a stable labour force.

The 1982 Black Local Authorities Act

After the Soweto uprising, the government set up local Community Councils to administer the townships, under the control of white government officials. The government hoped to satisfy black political demands by giving very limited powers at local level. In 1982 these councils were given more powers to administer the townships in a new law called the Black Local Authorities Act. The Community Councils could now be elected by local residents and were responsible for collecting rents and service payments. However, this made them unpopular with township residents.

The Tricameral Parliament

Another reform was the introduction of a new constitution in 1983 which created a tricameral (three chamber) parliament. This was an attempt to win support from the coloured and Indian communities, but at the same time retain white control. There were now separate parliaments for white, coloured and Indian representatives – the Houses of Assembly, Representatives and Delegates respectively. Each house would control its 'own affairs' in matters such as education and housing, but all other matters were still

controlled by the House of Assembly. This ensured that political power remained firmly in the hands of the white parliament. Africans were to be totally excluded from the tricameral parliament. Government policy was that political representation for Africans was confined to the homelands and the Community Councils.

Source D *A cartoon making fun of the Tricameral Parliament. Chris Heunis (on the left) was Minister of Constitutional Development, and P.W. Botha (on the right) was State President. This cartoon uses a metaphor comparing the drawing up of the 1983 Tricameral Constitution with architects designing a three-roomed building.*

Activity 1: (pairs) Analyse the reasons for the change in government policies in the 1980s

1 Read the text about the 1982 Black Local Authorities Act. Suggest why the government saw this Act as a reform measure. (4×1) (4)
2 Read the text about the 1983 tricameral constitution:
   a) How did the government portray this constitution as a reform measure? (3×1) (3)
   b) Explain why opposition groups saw the 1983 tricameral constitution as racist. (Give three different points.) (3×2) (6)
3 a) Explain what is meant by 'Total Onslaught/Total Strategy'. (2×3) (6)
   b) Discuss how Source A illustrates Botha's policies. (6×1) (6)
4 Use the text to explain why the pass system collapsed in the 1980s. (Your answer should be about 80–100 words.) (6×1) (6)
5 Use the text to discuss why the migrant labour system was becoming outdated. (4×1) (4)
6 Use the text and Sources B and C to explain why workers gained more power in the 1980s. (Your answer should be about 250–300 words.) (10)
7 Analyse Source D and explain in a paragraph whether it is an effective representation of the tricameral parliament. (4×2) (8)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 6.

Internal resistance to reforms

In response to the government's attempts at 'reform', widespread protests were held. This new wave of mass resistance continued throughout the 1980s. It involved trade unions, civic organisations, communities, students and church leaders. By the mid-1980s these had turned into a determined and sustained national uprising.

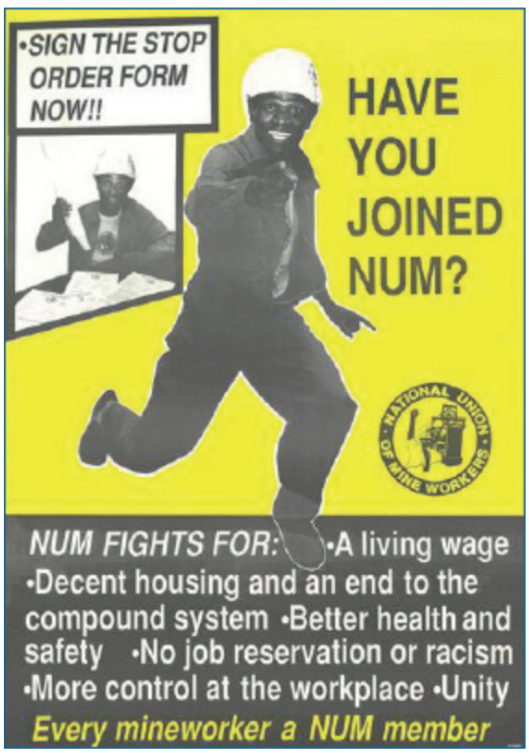
The growing power of the trade union movement

Workers and trade unions played a key role in the protests. The growth of trade unions had started at the time of the 1973 strikes and continued throughout the 1970s. The trade unions grew even more rapidly in the early 1980s, after black trade unions were legally recognised for the first time in 1979. At first the unions were concerned mainly with workplace issues such as wages and working conditions. But they also worked alongside community organisations to organise boycotts and stay-aways and other forms of resistance. They encouraged community organisations to support workers, for example by boycotting the products of companies with poor labour practices, or by stopping people from the community from doing '**scab**' **labour** when workers went on strike.

New words

scab labour
temporary workers brought in to do the work of workers who are on strike

Source E *This poster, made in Johannesburg in 1989, encourages mineworkers to join the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). One of the most influential leaders of the NUM at this time was Cyril Ramaphosa.*


•SIGN THE STOP ORDER FORM NOW!!
HAVE YOU JOINED NUM?
NUM FIGHTS FOR: •A living wage •Decent housing and an end to the compound system •Better health and safety •No job reservation or racism •More control at the workplace •Unity
Every mineworker a NUM member

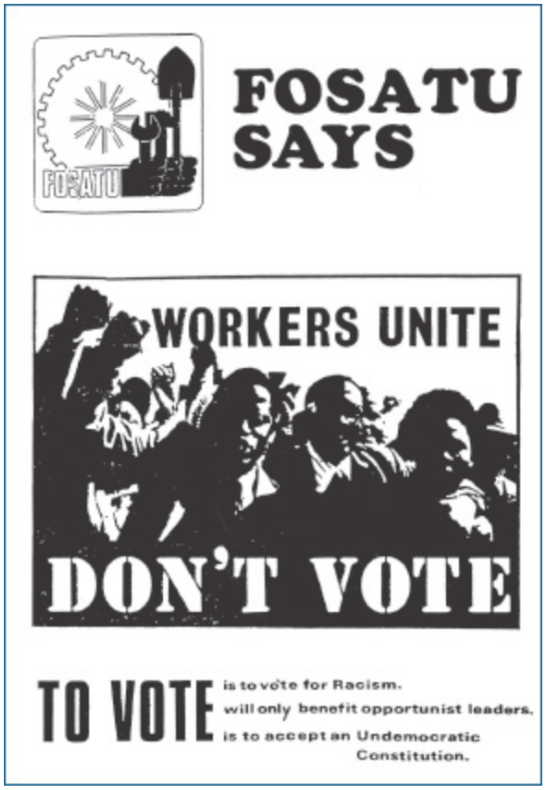
Source F *Moses Mayekiso of the Metal and Allied Workers Union comments on the important ways that trade union representation taught the people about voting and having direct representation. Workers with experience in trade union structures then used their knowledge and experience to help communities set up their own organisations, like street committees.*

I mentioned that people from other townships like Queenstown had built street committees and that they were working effectively. I spoke about my trade union experience and how union structures could be adapted to community organisation. I emphasised the importance of democracy, accountability or elected leaders, answerability and responsibility.

After 1983 the trade unions became more actively involved in wider politics. Many of them joined the United Democratic Front (which you will learn about later in this unit). Union members also played an important role in persuading people to boycott the elections for the tricameral parliament. In 1987 COSATU adopted the Freedom Charter and aligned itself with the non-racial democratic perspective of the UDF. They called for an end to apartheid and racism, the unbanning of political parties, the release of political prisoners and for a one person, one vote Constituent Assembly.

During the 1980s thousands of people were detained by the state. These included not only political leaders but also leaders of trade unions and community and student organisations. Some spent long periods of time in solitary confinement and some were victims of cruel torture. These protestors call for the release of the trade union leader Moses Mayekiso.

Source G *A FOSATU pamphlet encouraging people not to vote in the elections for the tricameral parliament in 1984.*



From 1985, the trade unions were involved in an increasing number of strikes to put pressure on employers and the government. COSATU launched a Living Wage campaign, calling for higher wages to meet the increasing costs of living at a time of inflation. In the 1980s the first of May was not a public holiday in South Africa as it was in many other parts of the world. The unions called for a stay-away on that day in 1985 to mark the importance of labour. Support for a May Day stay-away increased and by 1987, two-and-a-half million people were supporting the action. When the government introduced legislation to curb this industrial action, COSATU and other unions launched a massive campaign of stay-aways and boycotts to oppose it.

Activity 2: (groups) Analyse the role of trade unions

1 What is the usual job of a trade union? Identify the statements in Source E that show this. (2×3) (6)
2 Resistance can take many forms. One of these in the South African context was to develop the skills of black workers. Use Sources B, C and E and their captions to explain in a paragrah how the trade unions played a role in developing the abilities of individuals. (10)
3 COSATU (and the UDF) adopted the Freedom Charter. Explain what this was and what its main ideas were. (Use your knowledge from Grade 11 to answer this question.) (7×2) (14)
4 Use the text and Sources E, F and G to explain in what ways and why trade unions became involved in political issues and campaigns. (10)
5 Use the text and your knowledge to create a short play that trade unionists or workers would perform to teach others about their rights in the workplace and their political rights. You could also include commentary on how they could get involved in community organisations. (N/A)

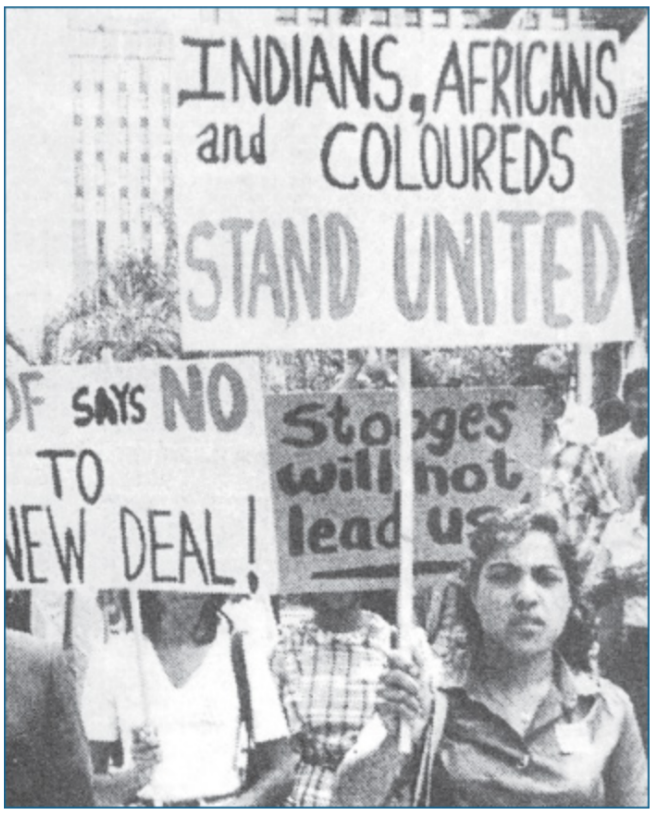
Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 2 and 4.

The response to Botha's 'reforms': new methods of mobilisation

The response to Botha's reforms was not what the National Party government had expected. The Black Local Authorities Act (1982) and the tricameral constitution (1983) had far-reaching political results. They were the spark that started off mass protests countrywide.

The government failed to win the support of moderate coloured, Indian and black voters, as it had hoped that it would. It was clear to all that the government was merely trying to restructure apartheid rather than to dismantle it. A number of democratic organisations joined forces to resist this restructuring by urging voters not to register and vote in the elections. These organisations formed the United Democratic Front (which you will read about below). Despite a vigorous campaign by the government to encourage people to register, less than 20% of coloured and Indian voters bothered to vote in the first elections for the tricameral parliament in 1984.

Source H *A protest march against the tricameral parliament referred to on one of the banners as the 'New Deal'. 'Stooges' are people who are given dull or routine work to do by someone who is more powerful. It was held in Durban in 1983.*



Source I *Extracts from a FOSATU pamphlet called 'What do the sellouts say?' (© COSATU). FOSATU was a trade union which was critical of the tricameral constitution (The 'Nationalists' means the National Party which had ruled South Africa since the start of apartheid in 1948.)*

Sell-outs: It is time for negotiation. The Nationalists are changing and we must make sure that change is in the right direction.
FOSATU: Where is the real change? The fact is that racism is still the law of the land – we still have the Group Areas, Influx Control, the Immorality Act and the Internal Securities Act, amongst others. Poverty, unemployment and inflation remain as bad as ever. What will these people negotiate? Can a fly caught in the spider's web negotiate with the spider?
Sell-outs: Once we are inside the system we will use this to negotiate for the African people.

The reaction to Botha's reforms in the black townships was dramatic: These reforms led to an uprising, sometimes called the 'township revolt', which lasted from 1984 to 1986. The protests started in the townships of the Vaal triangle, Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Boipatong. These protests were triggered by a school boycott by students and a rent boycott by township residents in protest against rent increases at a time of economic hardship and high unemployment. These protests and demonstrations soon became a mass uprising, with workers and students countrywide joining in the stay-away. This mass action marked a new kind of resistance. Rather than focusing on specific issues as in the past, such as the pass laws or rent boycotts, trade unions, local civics and new political organisations called for 'rolling mass action'. They wanted continuous and sustained resistance until the government agreed to dismantle apartheid and negotiate for a democratic future.

The role of civic organisations in the protests

Community or civic organisations were a major feature of these protests. They were usually referred to as 'civics'. Some of these originated as parent-student committees, women's organisations, youth groups or residents' associations. Although they were often concentrated on specific issues (such as township rents or bus fare increases), they became part of the wider spread of resistance. They often acted as pressure groups to persuade the authorities to improve facilities and they tried to **mobilise** people to take action to improve the quality of their lives. Civics around the country joined in rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, worker stay-aways, and boycotts of local elections. At times these boycotts led to violent confrontations with the police.

Key word

mobilise
to organise people to get them ready for action

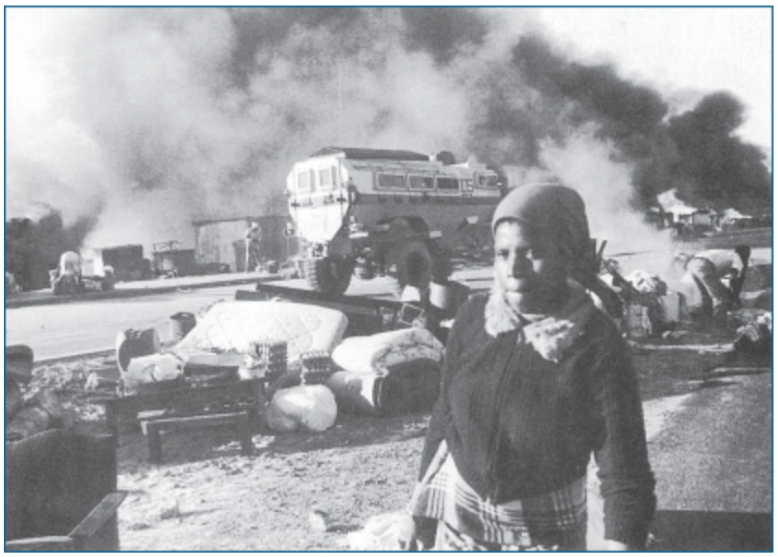
The civics targeted black councillors who served on the Community Councils established by the government. These councils were responsible for township administration, which was financed by money collected from local residents for rents and service charges. Those who served on them were considered to be collaborators of the government, and their role in collecting rents and service charges made them even more unpopular. Many councillors and black police officers were forced to resign or to flee the townships. Some that remained suffered gruesome deaths: they were 'necklaced' by having a tyre filled with petrol placed around their necks and set alight.

As the state's administration in many townships broke down, civic organisations stepped in to replace it with what was referred to as 'people's power'. Street and area committees and 'people's courts' were formed to provide alternative systems of community action and justice.

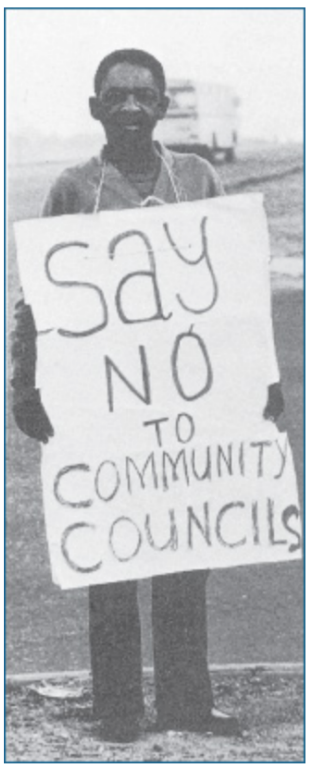
THINK AND DISCUSS: People's courts were controversial: Supporters argued that they were an attempt to

provide a genuine justice system. Others considered them to be 'kangaroo courts', where residents were sometimes unfairly tried and sentenced (even executed) by fellow residents. What do you think: Should the administration of justice be left to the official state courts?

In 1985 the government declared a state of emergency in many magisterial districts. Soon this state of emergency was extended nationwide. This gave the police and army extraordinary powers to deal with unrest. The police used violence against protestors and even sent the army into the townships. Over the months, thousands of people were killed in clashes with the security forces. But despite a massive use of force, the army and police never gained full control of the townships.



Life for the average South African became very difficult. Violence increased and often people were left homeless as a result. This photograph was taken in in Crossroads Squatter Camp, Cape Town, 1983.



Under the state of emergency gatherings of more than one person were not allowed. This man demonstrates on his own against community councils on the Soweto highway.

Source J *An extract from Nigel Worden*, The Making of Modern South Africa, *Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, page 140 in which he discusses how grassroots organisations gave the resistance movement its direction and energy.*

The conflicts of 1984-6 marked a new phase in South African popular resistance. In many townships throughout the country civil government collapsed, to be replaced by alternative, unofficial organisations calling for 'people's power'. In many cases, the initiative was taken by youth organisations, although they drew support from a wider sector of the community than was previously the case. More effective links were made between students and workers. Street committees organised co-ordinated actions such as rent boycotts and consumer boycotts of white businesses to persuade their owners to support calls for desegregation and lessening of state oppression. Moreover, this happened in hitherto unpoliticised small towns and rural areas in platteland South Africa as much as in the large metropolitan townships ... Certainly, the events of the mid-1980s marked an emergence into the political arena of a male youth assertiveness that had previously been expressed through gangs.

In most of these cases, local grievances led to action; during the Vaal uprising the UDF was trailing behind the masses. It nonetheless played an important part in creating an alternative national political culture that transcended local issues and gave a sense of purpose. In this its Charterist line was crucial. In many townships the ideas of the Freedom Charter provided a focus for action and political organisation.

Source K *Statistics of deaths of black South Africans in political violence between 1984 and 1988. From the South African Institute of Race Relations, Annual Surveys. (Quoted in Tom Lodge et al*, All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s, *David Philip, Cape Town, 1991, page 91) The 'Natal conflict' refers to violence between supporters of the UDF and Inkatha. The latter was a primarily Zulu organisation which was opposed to the growing power of the ANC in a region where it had traditionally had the strongest influence.*

YEAR		TOTAL
1984		175
1985		879
1986		1 298
	Shot by police	412
	Killed by other blacks	265
	Burned bodies found	231
	Other	390
1987		661
1988		1 149
	Shot by police	34
	Killed by other blacks outside Natal	15
	Burned bodies found	5
	Killed in Natal conflict	912
	Other	183

Activity 3: (individual) Analyse the 'Township revolt' and the role of community organisations

1 Read Source J and answer these questions:
   a) Identify the new features of the resistance that developed in the early 1980s mentioned in this source. (4×1) (4)
   b) What does the source suggest was the importance of the Freedom Charter in this resistance? (2×1) (2)
2 Read the Skills Support information on 'How useful are statistics as historical evidence' and then use the statistics in Source K to answer these questions:
   a) Suggest why the state introduced a state of emergency in 1985.
   b) Identify who was responsible for most of the deaths in(2×1) (2)
   1986. (1×2) (2)
   c) Explain to what 'burned bodies found' refers. (1×2) (2)
   d) Extract information which explains how the main cause of deaths had changed by 1988. (2×1) (2)
   e) Analyse how useful statistical evidence of this kind is. (4×1) (4)
3 Use Sources H and I to explain why so few people registered to vote for the tricameral elections. (2×3) (6)
4 In Source I the first statement by the 'Sell-Outs' is answered by FOSATU. Suggest what you think FOSATU would have answered to the second statement by the 'Sell-Outs'. (2×2) (4)
5 Use the text to explain the following terms:
   a) Township revolt (2×2) (4)
   b) rent boycotts (2×1) (2)
   c) consumer boycotts (1×1) (1)
   d) worker stay-aways (1×2) (2)
   e) boycotts of local elections (1×2) (2)
   f) rolling mass action (1×2) (2)
   g) 'People's Power' (2×2) (4)
6 Use the text to explain why communities went against the official community councillors. Describe the structures they set up instead. (2×3) (6)

SKILLS SUPPORT

What are the value and limitations of statistics as historical evidence?

- Statistics are useful because they show trends, they are unemotional and they are objective as they give summaries of measurable data.
- Statistics can be misleading if they are not based on a wide enough range of evidence, if they are approximate and if they are too selective (for example specially chosen to show a particular trend) or if they are manipulated by a government to reflect the kinds of trends that will help to justify its policies.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Intimidation was used against those who did not support mass action and violence was used against some community councillors, black policemen and police spies. How would the communities who carried out these acts justify their actions? Do you think this violence was/is acceptable?

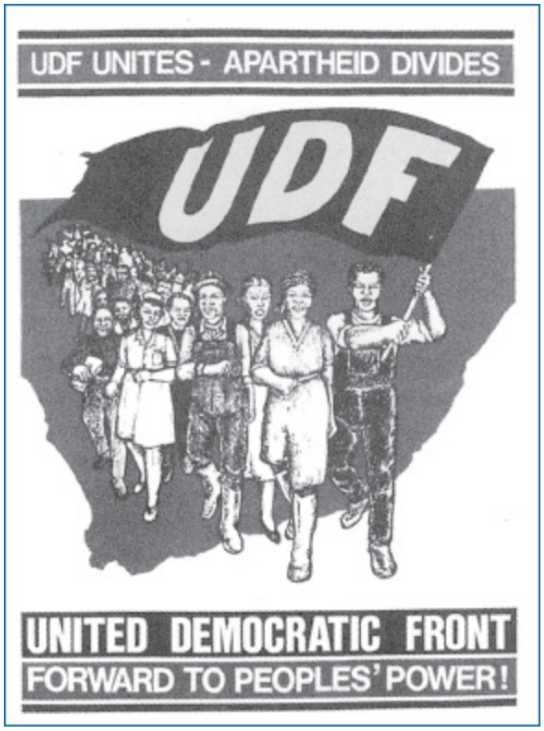
This poster was made in 1984. It encouraged people to oppose the elections for the tricameral parliament.

The United Democratic Front

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was a non-racial alliance which was launched in Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town in 1983. Among the 400 national, regional and local organisations which made up the UDF there were trade unions, and civic, community, student, women's, religious, sports, political and business organisations. The UDF was supported by the ANC in exile, and based its policies on the Freedom Charter. It quickly attracted a huge following and by 1985 had the support of an estimated three million members. Prominent leaders included Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Allan Boesak, as well as activists from the 1950s, such as Albertina Sisulu and Helen Joseph.

The UDF promoted a boycott of elections for the tricameral parliament and local councils in the townships, and it also organised rent boycotts, school protests, worker stay-aways and consumer boycotts. The UDF worked closely with the civics in the sustained resistance between 1984 and 1986. A number of UDF leaders faced treason charges in two highly publicised trials. They were accused of plotting with the banned ANC and SACP to overthrow the state. In the first of these trials, the 16 accused, which included Albertina Sisulu, were acquitted. In the Delmas treason trial, the 19 accused were initially convicted, though this was later set aside.

The UDF played a key role in intensifying the struggle against apartheid on a national scale. By bringing together such a wide range of organisations and with its non-racial approach, the UDF was able to unify and co-ordinate opposition and make it more effective. Fearing its power, the government banned the UDF in 1988.

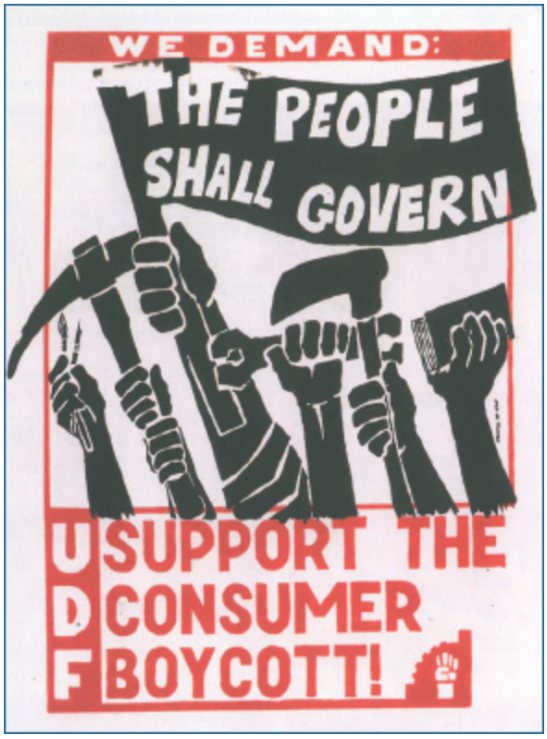


This was the official poster of the UDF.

Source L *Tom Lodge, a South African historian, analyses the changing nature and growing impact of the UDF during the 1980s. (From Tom Lodge et al*, All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s, *David Philip, Cape Town, 1991, page 55)*

The UDF's development during the 1980s can be divided into five phases. The first stage was a period of high-profile campaigning, with the national leadership orchestrating opposition to the municipal elections in the townships in November 1983 and the Coloured and Indian parliamentary elections of August 1984. This activity was followed by a second period in which, in the words of one journalist, the UDF became 'a movement spurred from below rather than pulled from above,' as the organisation became caught up in the opposition to town councils, beginning in the 'Vaal uprising' of September 1984. The third stage began with the government's efforts to counter 'ungovernability' in the townships by proclaiming a state of emergency in July 1985, itself generating new forms of opposition and organisation from which the UDF appeared to emerge more strongly entrenched than ever. A fourth phase was initiated in June 1986, when a second state of emergency seemed to succeed in suppressing the main centres of rebellion. The fifth stage, which began in 1988 and brought the decade to a close, saw a revival of resistance, with churches and labour unions supplying leadership.

Source M *This is one of a set of five posters highlighting the issues that the UDF and the consumer boycott promoted in 1985. The other four posters stated that 'We demand: SADF and police out of the townships; Free all detainees, End the emergency; and Fewer guns, higher wages.'*



Activity 4: (pairs & groups) Analyse the role of the UDF

1 Identify the five phases of development that the UDF went through according to Lodge (Source L). (5×2) (10)

2 Divide into groups of five. Assign each learner one of the following sources to study: Sources C, E, G, M and the official UDF poster. Each leaner should apply the questions below to his or her poster and then as a group discuss your answers.
   a) Identify what issues each highlights and compare what they have in common. (5×2) (10)
   b) Judge which you think is the most effective and explain why. (That is, you must give reasons for your choice.) (4×1) (4)
   c) Suggest why posters were used as a way to advertise and to teach people about political issues. (3×1) (3)

3 Source L quotes a journalist from the time as saying that the UDF was 'a movement spurred from below rather than pulled from above'.
   a) What does this mean? (1×2) (2)
   b) Quote a sentence from the last paragraph of Source J that supports this assessment. (2×1) (2)

4 Use the text to explain what the United Democratic Front was and in what ways it was important during the 1980s. (8×1) (8)

5 Many people who went on to play important roles in post-apartheid South Africa were leaders in the UDF. These include Trevor Manuel, Frank Chikane, Allan Boesak, Cheryl Carolus, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede, Mosiuoa Lekota and Jay Naidoo. Working in groups, each learner should select one of these names and find out what role this person played after 1994. Report your findings to the group. (N/A)

The End Conscription Campaign and the Black Sash

Smaller resistance organisations affiliated to the UDF aimed their protests at more specific targets, such as the End Conscription Campaign, which was formed in 1983 to oppose conscription into the army. At that stage all young white men had to do two years of national service after leaving school, followed by military camps for a number of years. As soldiers in the army, they were sent to fight in the Angolan War (see Unit 2.4), and were also sent into the townships to suppress the protests. Those who refused to do military service could be sentenced to six years in prison.

The ECC proposed alternative forms of service, supported **conscientious objectors** and ran awareness campaigns to get public support. In 1985 they ran a 'Troops out of the Townships' campaign. Some ECC leaders went on **hunger strikes** to draw attention to their cause. In 1985, 1 750 conscripts who had been called up failed to report for military service. A large number of 'draft dodgers' were thought to be living in Europe. The government banned the ECC in 1988.

New words

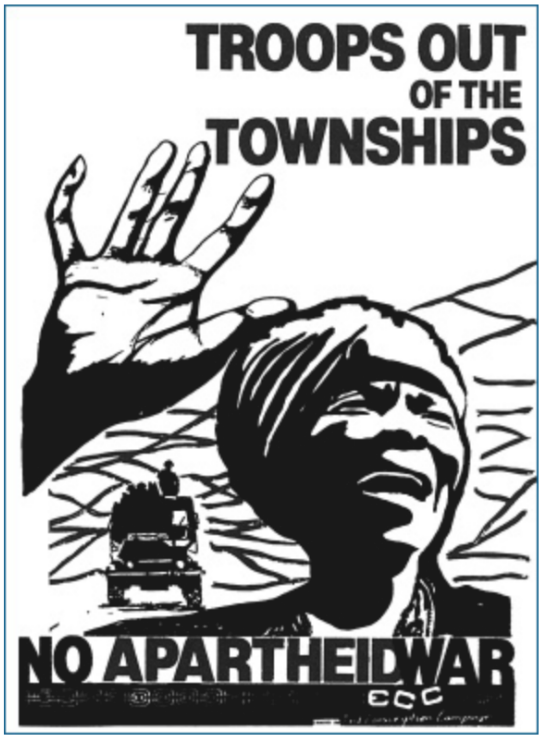
conscientious objector
a person who refuses to do military service for moral, or religious reasons

hunger strike
refusal to eat as a form of protest (usually by prisoners in jail)

WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION
YOUNG MEN ARE CONSCRIPTED TO MAINTAIN THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA & TO WAGE UNJUST WAR AGAINST FOREIGN COUNTRIES
YOUNG MEN WHO REFUSE TO SERVE ARE FACED WITH THE CHOICE OF A LIFE OF EXILE OR A POSSIBLE 6 YEARS IN PRISON
YOUNG MEN ARE CONSCRIPTED TO ASSIST IN THE IMPLENTATION DEFENCE OF APARTHEID POLICIES

The ECC opposed military conscription because it took away people's freedom of choice and because soldiers were forced to carry out apartheid policies.

Black Sash members hold a silent protest against the death sentence imposed in 1985 on six participants who took part in a protest march in Sharpeville. The Deputy Mayor was killed and the accused were found guilty because they were part of the march, without evidence that they themselves had killed the mayor. There was wide local and international protest and the sentences were changed to imprisonment in 1988.



White soldiers, many of whom were conscripted from the age of 16, were used in black townships to keep 'law and order', because protests had led to destruction of property, petrol bombs and unruly crowds in the streets. While some soldiers supported government policies, many were shocked by what they witnessed. The ECC felt the army should not be used against the citizens as a police force, as this ECC poster shows.

In the 1980s the role of the Black Sash began to change. After the pass laws were removed, advice offices focused more on welfare issues such as housing and child support. The Black Sash also became more involved in issues affecting rural communities through projects such as the Transvaal Action Committee and the National Land Committee, formed in 1985. A younger generation of Black Sash women were influenced by feminist ideas. For example, Black Sash rural activists such as Lydia Kompe formed the Rural Women's Movement in the mid-1980s and encouraged rural black women to contest laws and customs which prevented them from owning land and inheriting property in their own names.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Discuss the significance of the contribution made by the ECC and the Black Sash in the struggle against apartheid.

Protests from students and church leaders

Student protests were an important part of the liberation struggle. A new school-based organisation, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), organised widespread protests and school boycotts, which resulted in the detention of hundreds of students and teachers. Schooling was seriously disrupted when the slogan 'Liberation before education' gained support in many townships.

Source N *An advertisement for a COSAS meeting. The face in the top right-hand corner is of a student who was killed in 1984. Notice their promotion of SRCs. Students and teachers were harassed and detained. In 1987 more than 1 400 children were held in detention.*

In December 1985, representatives of student, teacher, parent, political and community organisations met in Johannesburg to discuss the breakdown of education. They formed the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC). Using an alternative slogan, 'Education for liberation', the NECC suspended the school boycott. It urged students and teachers to challenge the system of education from within the schools and to use knowledge and skills to empower students to fight apartheid. It called for support for 'People's education' and developed alternative teaching materials to counter the apartheid ideology that was the basis of the curriculum.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Discuss the dilemma facing the NECC in trying to motivate students to return to school. How effective do you think the slogans they chose would have been?

This photograph dating from 1986 is of a funeral of three unrest victims at which Archbishop

Tutu officiated. Under the state of emergency political rallies and meetings were banned, so church services and funerals often turned into political rallies.

Some churches and church leaders played an active role in the protests. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) co-ordinated their opposition. The SACC voiced support for conscientious objection to serving in the SA defence Force, and called on foreign companies to refuse to apply the policy of job reservation. In 1985, church leaders issued the 'Kairos document' which called on Christians in South Africa to 'participate in the struggle for liberation' by supporting civil disobedience campaigns, consumer boycotts and strikes. Some Muslim and Jewish organisations also protested about human rights violations and openly supported the liberation struggle.

With the effective banning of many organisations in 1987 and 1988, the churches became virtually the only legal voice of opposition for a time. As the momentum for change grew in 1989, the SACC committed member churches to supporting non-violent action to end apartheid. For the first time, the Dutch Reformed Church openly condemned apartheid.

THINK AND DISCUSS: What is the role of churches and other religious organisations in society? Should they have become involved in politics in the 1980s? Do they have an obligation to become involved in political issues today?

The Mass Democratic Movement

The banned ANC called for 1989 to be a 'Year of Mass Action'. In February, after a highly publicised hunger strike, hundreds of political detainees were released. In August a broad alliance of anti-apartheid organisations formed the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), with UDF supporters and COSATU as its core members. The MDM launched a Defiance Campaign against the government. This was a national campaign that called for an end to segregation in hospitals, public transport and beaches, and widespread worker stay-aways to protest about the tricameral elections of September 1989. The success of the campaign was evident when three million workers stayed away from work on election day.

Despite harsh government reaction, the mood of defiance grew. People became bolder and ignored government banning orders, eviction notices and restrictions, and openly defied segregation laws. Although the ANC remained banned, the MDM ignored this by openly displaying its flag and distributing its literature.

The MDM also organised huge freedom marches in major cities. Previously the government had met any such challenge with swift repression, but now it took little action against the marchers. A march of about 40 000 people in central Cape Town was followed by similar marches throughout the country. It was clear that civil protests had been effective and that the government was no longer in control. By the end of 1989 the stage was set for major changes in South Africa.

THINK AND DISCUSS: In 1989, the 'year of mass action', the banned ANC called on the resistance movement to make the country 'ungovernable'. Discuss how this was done under the co-ordination of the MDM. Then consider why it also led to people destroying some schools and public transport facilities, such as trains. Under what circumstances do you think actions like this can be justified? Are there circumstances when they are not justified? Discuss possible long-term problems that might develop out of such a resistance strategy.

The international response to apartheid

In spite of the huge internal pressures on the government, the apartheid state did not collapse. It was the added pressure of external factors that created the climate for change. During the 1980s, international pressure on the government increased significantly. International anti-apartheid movements, sanctions

and boycotts, the ANC in exile, and support for the resistance struggle by the frontline states in Africa all played a role in ending apartheid.

International anti-apartheid movements

After the shootings at Sharpeville in 1960, and even more so after the harsh repression of the Soweto uprising in 1976, there was greater awareness on the international front of the injustices of apartheid and an increasing resistance to these injustices in South Africa. The government was widely criticised, both by Western governments and at the United Nations. Protest demonstrations were held in many countries, and calls were made for the sporting and cultural isolation of South Africa, as well as for economic sanctions. Anti-apartheid organisations were established in several European countries, and some European governments, such as Sweden and the Netherlands, supported the ANC financially.

Anti-apartheid movements in Britain and Ireland

The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in Britian was formed in 1959 by South African exiles and their supporters, at the request of ANC leader Albert Luthuli, to create awareness of what was happening in South Africa. This movement gained initial support from the British Labour Party and from trade unions, and called for support for banned organisations like the ANC. Father Trevor Huddleston, who had played a prominent role in the protests against forced removals in Sophiatown in the 1950s, became a patron of the movement and continued his protests against apartheid. However, the British government did not support the AAM, even after the Labour Party came to power in 1964. In the 1980s, the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, was firmly opposed to sanctions against South Africa. She wanted to protect British investments in South Africa and the British economy relied on many of South Africa's rare and valuable minerals and products. She also feared the communist influence in the ANC and saw them as a threat in the Cold War era.

The AAM shows its support for the ANC and sanctions in 1986. The priest in the middle of the picture is Father Trevor Huddleston, an anti-apartheid activist who also fought against the destruction of Sophiatown in the 1950s.

In 1965, anti-apartheid campaigners in Britain set up the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF). It published material to raise awareness about conditions in South Africa, and collected funds to help opponents of apartheid, by paying their legal fees or supporting their families. It also worked with the ANC in exile.

This is the cover of a book produced by the IDAF. It is based on a photographic exhibition that the IDAF put on at the request of the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid. Both these organisations' logos can be seen on the top right-hand corner. The book was originally banned in South Africa. The photograph shows a woman whose husband had just been arrested in a police raid.

In Ireland, trade unions began to demand the boycott of South African goods in the 1960s and there were student protests during the Rivonia Trial in 1963. The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement (IAAM) was set up the following year. One of its founders was Kader Asmal, an ANC exile who was a law professor in Dublin and who later became the South African Minister of Education in the democratic era. The IAAM was supported by Irish church leaders, trade unionists and students.

Source O *One of the most prominent campaigns of the IAAM was to support Mary Manning, a Dublin supermarket worker, who was fired for refusing to sell Outspan grapefruit because it came from the Cape.*

Activities of the anti-apartheid movements

As a result of the international anti-apartheid movements, South Africa became increasingly isolated. It

was regularly criticised by the United Nations, and many countries supported a ban on the sale of arms to South Africa.

The AAM held demonstrations outside the South African embassy in London. They also demonstrated outside the companies that did business in South Africa to try to force them to disinvest. As a result, some British companies, such as Barclays Bank, sold off their SA holdings.

Although South African products were available in British shops, many consumers applied their own sanctions by refusing to buy products from South Africa such as fruit or wine.

There were also cultural boycotts. The British Actors' Union, Equity, would not allow the performances of any of its members to be shown in South Africa and as a result many British TV programmes and films could not be shown here.

Academic links were discouraged and professors from South African universities were refused admission to some international academic conferences. For example, in 1986 South African delegates were excluded from the World Archaeology Conference in Southampton, even though many of them were strong opponents of apartheid and their research had disproved many apartheid myths about the history of black South Africans.

A sports boycott was an important part of the international anti-apartheid campaigns. South African teams were increasingly isolated when they were barred from international competition, especially after Commonwealth countries adopted the Gleneagles Agreement in 1977, which called on members to cut all sporting links with South Africa. Not all Commonwealth governments supported this, but massive local protests during a Springbok Rugby tour of New Zealand in 1981 showed the risks of disobeying it. Most sporting links with South Africa ceased in the 1980s.

Many white South Africans became increasingly unhappy about the sports boycott. The psychological effect of isolation from international sports events made them want some change to happen in South Africa so that national teams could compete once again.

Disinvestment and sanctions

There was growing support for economic sanctions against South Africa, partly as a result of the influence which the ANC in exile was able to exert. Calls for sanctions by prominent South Africans, such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, also played a part. The United Nations established a Special Committee Against Apartheid which played a critical role in imposing an **oil embargo** on South Africa.

New words

oil embargo
sanction of not allowing oil to be imported under apartheid

In the USA, support for sanctions was strong, even though President Ronald Reagan was opposed to these sanctions. The US Congress and American companies applied sanctions to try to force the SA government to change its policies. In 1986, the US Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. All new investments and loans to South Africa were banned; SA Airways planes were not allowed to land at US airports; there was a ban on importing certain South African products; institutions such as universities started selling off their shares in companies which had SA connections; and large corporations (such as General Electric, IBM, General Motors, Coca-Cola, Mobil and Kodak) closed down their operations in South Africa. The European Union also applied limited sanctions, banning the sale of gold Krugerrands and the importing of South African coal, iron and steel.

There is still some debate amongst historians as to how effective these international campaigns were in bringing about change. In some ways the campaigns strengthened the South African government's argument that outside forces were trying to undermine the country and interfere in its affairs, and they encouraged the South African economy to become self-reliant. In other ways they showed South Africans who were resisting apartheid that they were not alone, as had seemed to be the case in the 1960s. By the late 1980s these measures were certainly adversely affecting the South African economy and adding to a growing feeling of isolation among supporters of the apartheid government. Some historians believed that sanctions played a crucial role in forcing the government to accept that change was necessary.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Opponents of sanctions argued that sanctions would make life harder for the people they were trying to help, by creating greater unemployment in South Africa. They also argued that it would force the SA government to adopt a 'siege mentality'. Conversely, supporters of sanctions believed that they would bring about a peaceful end to apartheid. What do you think: How effective are sanctions in putting pressure on governments?

The Release Mandela Campaign

One focus of the anti-apartheid movements was a call for the release of political prisoners in South Africa. In 1978 Nelson Mandela, then a prisoner on Robben Island, was 60 years old and the occasion was used to mobilise anti-apartheid supporters in many countries to send petitions and letters of protest to the South African government demanding his release. A Release Nelson Mandela Committee was subsequently formed in London and international campaigns, petitions and marches demanding his release increased during the 1980s. A renewed campaign for his release was launched in 1987 at the headquarters of the United Nations, led by the American popular TV personality Bill Cosby.

In this way Mandela's name became an international symbol of the struggle against apartheid. He was given honours such as the freedom of the city of Glasgow, a resolution was passed in the US Congress calling for his release, and in Britain and the Netherlands streets were named after him. His face appeared on T-shirts and campaign posters. This international campaign coincided with demands by the UDF and other organisations within South Africa for his release.

As a result of these campaigns, Botha offered Mandela release in 1985, provided he agreed to renounce violence and resistance against the South African state. Mandela rejected these conditions but his words of response were a further inspiration to the AAM. It was becoming increasing clear that no resolution to the crisis of apartheid could be achieved while Mandela remained in jail.

"During my lifetime...
I have cherished the ideal of a free society... It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."
NELSON MANDELA
Statement from the dock, April 1964.
After 26 years in a South African prison... India believes Nelson Mandela's freedom concerns us all.
NELSON MANDELA
Freedom at 70
It's your Freedom
World Youth Action Against Apartheid

This poster was produced for the AAM's Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70 Campaign in 1988. For many years Mandela's image had been banned and no one really knew what he looked like at the time. This image shows him as a much younger man.

Source P *In January 1985, P.W. Botha offered Mandela his freedom if he would 'unconditionally reject violence as a political weapon'. Botha had offered Mandela release five previous times but all with conditions which Mandela rejected. This speech, called 'I am not prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free', was Mandela's response to Botha's offer. It was read to a mass meeting in Jabulani Stadium, Soweto, on 10 February, 1985, on his behalf, by his daughter Zindzi. This text was published by the ANC in London. (In this extract he mentions Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd, who were the National Party Prime Ministers in the 1950s and 1960s.)*

I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored. When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored. When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that people may decide who will govern them.

I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom ... I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I am prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free ...

What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence? ... What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected? ...

I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated.

The role of international trade unions

Trade unions played a major part in mobilising the international anti-apartheid movement in many countries, such as Ireland, Britain, Norway and Australia. Trade unionists wanted to show solidarity with black factory and mine workers in South Africa. Some of the earliest boycott campaigns against South Africa were led by trade unions, such as one organised by the Solidarity Committee of the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions in 1969.

Support for the struggle against apartheid was promoted in the 1970s and 1980s by the international trade union movement. These included the largest organisations who supported the ANC and its policies, such as the International Confederation of Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour and the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity. These organisations called for a boycott of South African goods and trade and for disinvestment, and they raised funds for anti-apartheid movements. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), a federation of non-communist trade unions from almost 150 countries in Europe, Africa and Asia, also supported the boycott campaigns in the 1980s.

A badge made in Britain encouraging worker support for the anti-apartheid struggle

Activity 5: (pairs) Investigate the role of the AAM in Britian

Use the text and the specific sources to answer these questions:

1 What was the Gleneagles Agreement and why do some people think that it was a significant factor in bringing about change in South Africa? (4×1) (4)

2 a) Identify the persuasive techniques used in Source O. (4×1) (4)

b) Do you think Outspan workers in South Africa would have supported its message? (3×1) (3)

3 Describe the kinds of campaigns that the AAM carried out and the success that they had. (8×1) (8)

4 Suggest why trade union members from other parts of the world would support South African workers in their struggle against apartheid. (3×1) (3)

5 a) Explain the purpose of the AAM. (3×1) (3)

b) Why did the Thatcher government not support it? (3×1) (3)

6 Explain why the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act was significant. (6×1) (6)

7 Use Source P to explain why Nelson Mandela inspired people all over the world. (4×1) (4)

8 Explain why Source P would be useful to historians who study the history of resistance to apartheid inside South Africa. (4×1) (4)

THINK AND DISCUSS: Why did the AAM not support armed intervention in South Africa? Why do you think boycotts and sanctions were used instead?

Support for the anti-apartheid struggle in Africa

The Organisation of African Unity used its influence to have South Africa expelled from several organisations, such as the World Health Organisation, the International Labour Organisation, and the International Olympic Movement. But many countries still continued to trade with South Africa.

The 'frontline' states played an important role in the struggle against the apartheid government. They were the countries in southern Africa bordering, or close to, South Africa – Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania. Although they were all strongly opposed to the policy of apartheid, many were economically dependent on South Africa, the dominant economy in the region. In 1980, they formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). The aim of

this was to promote economic development in the region and to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa.

This map shows how MK guerrillas were better able to launch attacks in South Africa from bases in Angola and Mozambique. Three high profile MK attacks in the 1980s are shown as well.

Many of the frontline states allowed the exiled ANC and PAC to establish bases in their countries. From there the ANC was able to step up MK raids into South Africa and intensify the armed struggle. In the early 1980s, it attacked high-profile targets, such as the SA Airforce headquarters in Pretoria, the dockyards in Durban and the Koeberg nuclear power station near Cape Town. By the mid-1980s, MK had units and support structures throughout the country, and had stepped up the number of attacks on police stations and other targets.

On the night of 31 May 1980, MK operatives set off blasts at the Sasol oil refinery as seen here. The South African government had started this experimental refinery to make oil from coal. This would ensure a supply of oil if sanctions were imposed.

The frontline states paid a heavy price for their support for the liberation groups as they became the target of South Africa's policy of 'destabilisation'. The purpose of this was to destroy the bases and weaken support for them in the frontline states. The tactics used included raids by hit-squads and bombing attacks in which innocent civilians were killed. The apartheid government also wanted to hinder economic development in the countries which had adopted socialist policies. So they supported anti-government guerrilla groups, such as UNITA in Angola and RENAMO in Mozambique. The people of Angola and Mozambique suffered severely as a result of this. In both countries, hundreds of thousands of people were killed in civil wars, food production ceased in large areas, millions were made homeless, and thousands were maimed in landmine accidents.

The government also targeted anti-apartheid activists living in exile in the frontline states. For example, in 1982, Ruth First, a journalist and leading SACP member, was killed in Mozambique, by a parcel bomb sent to her by South African agents. In 1988, Albie Sachs, a human rights activist and ANC member (who became a prominent Constitutional Court judge after 1994) lost an arm and the sight of one eye as a result of a car bomb placed by South African security agents in Maputo.

The headquarters of the ANC in exile were in Lusaka in Zambia. Under leaders such as Oliver Tambo, it secured increasing international recognition and support for sanctions. Both the UN and the OAU recognised the ANC as the official representative of the people of South Africa, and the ANC eventually had more representatives in capital cities overseas than the South African government did.

The beginning of the end of apartheid

The effects on the South African economy

At the beginning of the 1980s South Africa was in a state of economic recession. Economic growth was low, the price of gold fell, a balance of payments crisis existed (South Africa was importing more than it was exporting, and did not have enough foreign exchange to pay for the imports) and the government was depending on loans from the International Monetary Fund. These poor economic conditions

affected people in many ways. The standard of living dropped and poverty in the townships got worse as unemployment increased, especially among black school-leavers.

By 1985, business leaders were concerned about the effects of political instability on the economy and about South Africa's international image. They were also concerned about increasing international support for economic sanctions against South Africa. They hoped that the government would announce meaningful reforms that would satisfy both resistance groups and foreign critics. But in a widely-publicised speech Botha rejected both significant reform and international pressure. Many people had expected an announcement about major reforms. Instead, Botha opted for a stubborn isolationist position. This speech is referred to as the infamous Rubicon Speech.

The speech led to a financial crisis: overseas banks cancelled loans to South Africa, the value of the rand dropped by 35% and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange had to close for four days. After this, support for sanctions against South Africa grew and the economy declined even further.

By the end of the 1980s, sanctions, disinvestments and boycotts were making a significant impact on the economy. This coincided with internal mass resistance. These external and internal pressures were both key factors responsible for bringing about change.

Activity 6: (individual) Explain the impact of African opposition to apartheid

Use the information in the text to answer these questions:

1 In what ways were the frontline states involved in and affected by the anti-apartheid struggle? (6×1) (6)
2 Discuss the impact made by the United Nations and the Organisation for African Unity in weakening the apartheid state. (4×1) (4)
3 Explain how each of the following would have responded to Botha's 1985 speech: the owner of a company which relies on exports; an ANC leader in exile; a government minister who supports 'Total Strategy'; a member of Margaret Thatcher's government; a UDF leader. (5×3) (15)
4 Assess how internal resistance and international sanctions affected the South African economy. Which do you think played a more significant role? (4×2) (8)

Practice essays

1 Discuss why and in what ways the government reformed the apartheid system in the 1980s.
2 'Without the push coming from the 'township revolt' and the structures within communities (street and area communities, civics, people's courts) change would have been slower.' Discuss the accuracy of this statement while analysing the role of the UDF and the community structures in increasing political pressure on the apartheid state.
3 Discuss how the formation of trade unions, and in particular COSATU, improved the lives of workers and increased resistance to apartheid.
4 Assess why international pressure on South Africa increased during the 1980s and what impact it had on bringing about the end of apartheid.

Assessment

(individual) Write an essay on the crisis of apartheid in the 1980s

'The apartheid government's attempt to strengthen its position resulted instead in mounting resistance which by 1989 had become unstoppable.'

Do you agree with this view? In your answer, examine the impact of the 1983 tricameral constitution and the internal mass resistance that followed. [50]

(This can be assessed as part of the formal assessment for Term 2.)

Your essay will be assessed according to the rubric after Topic 6.

TOPIC 5

The dawn of democracy in South Africa and coming to terms with the past

How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s, and come to terms with the apartheid past?

PERHAPS THE MOST significant event in South Africa's history was the collapse of apartheid and the establishment of a democracy with South Africa's first democratic election in 1994.

Although the apartheid state had come under pressure from both external and internal sources, **stalemate** was reached between its supporters and opponents in the late 1980s. The government was still in power but unable to suppress the protests and the opposition movements were unable to overthrow the government. Neither side could change the situation. Some secret negotiations between the government and the ANC were held as both sides realised they might need to make **compromises**. In February 1990 President F.W. de Klerk unbanned the ANC, PAC and SACP.

New words

stalemate
a situation where neither side can move forward

compromise
a settlement of differences where each side makes concessions in order to reach agreement

The next four years saw a difficult process of negotiation between the government and the liberation movements. These negotiation processes broke down at several stages. Violence between competing groups within the country also threatened the negotiating process. However compromise was finally reached. A democratic election was held, but the new Government of National Unity (GNU) required the majority ANC to share power with its political rivals (the National Party and Inkatha) for five years.

The GNU faced the difficult task of reconciling a country which had been torn apart by racial and ethnic divisions, violence and civil warfare. An important part of this process was to establish the truth about what had happened in the apartheid years and seeking justice, reconciliation and forgiveness through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It was only partially successful in doing this. Another part of the process was to recognise the struggle against apartheid in the public memorials and commemorations of the past. In both cases the emphasis was on reconciliation rather than retribution.

A photograph of F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela at Mandela's inauguration as President in May 1994. After four years of careful negotiations South Africa held its first democratic election in 1994. Nelson Mandela became president with F.W. de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki as his deputies. Both Mandela and De Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their outstanding efforts to bring democracy to South Africa.

Timeline for Topic 5

1990	Feb	De Klerk announces major reforms: ANC unbanned; Mandela released
	May	Groote Schuur Minute
	Aug	Pretoria Minute
1991	Dec	CODESA talks begin
1992	Mar	Whites only **referendum**
	May	Breakdown of CODESA talks
	June	Boipatong massacre
	Sept	Bisho massacre; Record of Understanding
1993	April	Assassination of Chris Hani; Multi-party Negotiating Forum resumes talks
	June	AWB attack on World Trade Centre
	Dec	Agreement on **Interim Constitution**
1994	Mar	AWB invasion of Bophuthatswana
	April	South Africa's first democratic election
	May	Mandela inaugurated as president; Government of National Unity takes office
1996	April	First session of Truth and Reconciliation Commission
1998	Oct	Interim report of TRC
2003	April	Final report of TRC

Key word

referendum
a vote taken on a specific issue

New words

interim constitution
a temporary or provisional constitution to be used until a final one has been drawn up

Timeline tasks

1 What made February 1990 an extremely significant month in South African history?
2 What evidence is there on the timeline that the progress towards democracy in the early 1990s was marked by a great deal of violence?
3 What are the names of the two negotiating forums mentioned on this timeline?
4 What suggests that the establishment of the TRC was an important priority for the new

government?

Political groupings in South Africa 1990–94

ANC – African National Congress (banned between 1960 and 1990)
APLA – Azanian People's Liberation Army (armed wing of the PAC)
AWB – Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (ultra **right-wing** paramilitary group)
AZAPO – Azanian People's Organisation (a Black Consciousness organisation formed in the early 1980s)
CP – Conservative Party (right-wing Afrikaners who had split away from the NP)
DP – Democratic Party (liberal parliamentary opposition party formed in 1989 and previously known as the Progressive Federal Party)
FF – Freedom Front (alliance of right-wing Afrikaner groups formed to participate in the 1994 election)
IFP – Inkatha Freedom Party (political arm of Inkatha, a Zulu nationalist organisation based in KwaZulu-Natal)
NP – National Party (Afrikaner political party in power since 1948)
PAC – Pan Africanist Party (banned between 1960 and 1990)
SACP – South African Communist Party (banned between 1950 and 1990)
Tripartite Alliance – ANC, SACP and COSATU (alliance formed to participate in the 1994 election)

Key words

right-wing
conservative and opposed to reform

Tripartite Alliance
formed by three parties or groups

Between 1989 and 1994 the political structure of South Africa changed fundamentally. In 1989 the National Party was in power and black people did not have the right to vote. The ANC had been banned for nearly 30 years and its leaders were in exile or in jail. There was a great deal of tension and suspicion, and many people predicted that a violent revolution and civil war were inevitable. But, in a remarkable four years, through lengthy negotiations and compromise, a settlement was reached and major conflict was avoided. In 1994 the 46-year rule of the National Party came to an end when the ANC won a majority in the first democratic election. South Africa became a democracy, with one of the most liberal and highly regarded constitutions in the world.

The beginning of the solution

By 1989 the apartheid government was experiencing increasing pressure from internal mass resistance as well as pressure caused by international isolation and sanctions. As a result, even members of the National Party itself could see the need for a change of policy. As P.W. Botha was opposed to change, he was forced to step down as leader of the National Party and as president. This followed his ill health as a result of two strokes and his public criticism of another NP leader, F.W. de Klerk, for planning a visit to

the ANC in Lusaka. Botha was replaced as president by De Klerk, who realised that there was an urgent need for a different approach.

Secret negotiations with the ANC in exile

During the 1980s, as resistance in South Africa continued, it had become increasingly clear to white business leaders and politicians that the ANC could not be ignored if a solution to South Africa's problems were to be found. In 1985, a group of prominent business leaders, led by Gavin Relly of the Anglo-American Corporation, flew to Lusaka in Zambia to meet Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders. In 1987, Van Zyl Slabbert, an opposition politician, led a group of liberal Afrikaners to meet with ANC leaders at Dakar in Senegal. It was clear that even though the ANC remained a banned organisation in South Africa, influential people had begun to accept that it had a crucial role to play in determining South Africa's future.

Negotiations with Mandela

Even under P.W. Botha there were signs that the government realised the importance of Nelson Mandela, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. In 1982, the government moved Mandela from Robben Island to a prison on the mainland, and from 1985 members of the government held secret talks with Mandela. However, Mandela rejected any offer of release unless it was unconditional. In 1988, he was moved to a house in the grounds of Victor Verster prison at Paarl. By now it was clear to the government that there would be no solution to the crises faced by South Africa while Mandela remained in jail.

During 1989 further secret meetings were held between Mandela and PW Botha and also between him and FW de Klerk. During 1989 several other long-term political prisoners, including most of the Rivonia trialists, were released, but Mandela remained in jail.

The meeting in Dakar was organised by Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert. He had been the leader of the opposition in parliament but resigned from his position, as he felt that the whites-only parliament had become increasingly irrelevant. He wanted to show the ANC that there were liberal Afrikaners who wanted meaningful change. This photograph shows him on the right with Thabo Mbeki of the ANC. Mbeki was in exile at the time.

Activity 1: (groups) Understand the situation prior to negotiations

Use the information in the text to answer these questions:

1 a) When did talks with Mandela (who was still in jail) and the government begin? (1×1) (1)
   b) Explain why this was significant. (3×1) (3)
2 Suggest why Botha secretly agreed to talk to Mandela but publicly maintained such a hard-line approach. (3×1) (3)
3 Refer back to Source P in Unit 4.2 to explain how Mandela showed that even though he was still in prison, he was not manipulated by the government and that his allegiance remained strongly with the liberation struggle and the people of South Africa. (5×1) (5)
4 Explain the significance of the visits of prominent business leaders and liberal Afrikaners to the ANC in exile. (3×1) (3)
5 Examine the divisions within the National Party cabinet between apartheid hard-liners and those who were prepared to adopt a more flexible approach in 1989. (4×1) (4)

1990–91: The start of negotiations

The process of reform started with a surprise announcement by F.W. De Klerk in February 1990. This provided the breakthrough but it was not certain that there would be a peaceful **transition** to democracy. It was nearly two years before serious negotiations began.

New words
transition change from one form or state to another

The start of the reform process: the unbanning of liberation organisations and the release of Mandela

In his opening address to parliament on 2 February 1990, De Klerk made a dramatic move. He announced the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP; the release of political prisoners (including Mandela, without any conditions attached); the easing of restrictions, banning orders and censorship; the suspension of the death penalty; as well as a willingness to work with all political groups to create a new and democratic constitution.

Ten days after De Klerk's announcement, Nelson Mandela was released after 27 years in jail. Thousands of supporters, together with representatives of the international media, gathered to witness the release of the world's most famous political prisoner. After a visit to meet the leaders of the ANC in Lusaka, he made a public statement, repeating the ANC's commitment to negotiate with the government in order to end apartheid.

In addition to Mandela, other prisoners who were serving sentences because they were members of the ANC or PAC were released. Fifty prisoners were released from Robben Island in February and March. However, the government refused to release those who they claimed had committed crimes, even if their offences were part of the anti-apartheid struggle. Prisoners remaining on Robben Island went on a hunger strike and the ANC refused to enter into negotiations until they were released. The government finally agreed to release some of the prisoners and by 1991, 933 prisoners had been released, although the process was slow.

Source A *The announcement of the release of Mandela was received with great excitement by ordinary South Africans as this photograph from 11 February 1990 shows. Many people now expected all their problems to be solved. The respect and admiration which so many people felt towards Mandela were demonstrated when he visited 13 countries, some in Africa, some in Europe and also in North America, a few months later. Everywhere he went he was met by enthusiastic crowds, political leaders and exiled South Africans. To the dismay of the government, he urged Western leaders to maintain economic sanctions against South Africa until the progress to democracy was assured.*

Debates around negotiations

Although both the ANC and the National Party government had announced their commitment to change, both parties faced serious obstacles before negotiations about constitutional changes could take place.

The ANC had been banned for 30 years, so the party had to build up an organisational structure inside the country. It had to transform itself from a liberation movement to a political party. There were differences of opinion over ideology and tactics amongst the ANC leadership. For example, Chris Hani, who returned from exile in 1990 and became the leader of the SACP in 1991, agreed that the armed struggle could be temporarily called off during the negotiations. However, he believed that the ANC should not renounce military tactics completely.

There were also differences and possible clashes between returning exiles and leaders who had remained in the country. Those who had been in exile believed that they had been carrying the burden of the resistance struggle for 30 years, while those who had remained resented the fact that returning exiles were now taking control and their efforts were being overlooked. But perhaps most difficult of all were the expectations of the millions of people in the townships who had participated in the resistance of the 1980s and were now impatient for change.

This photograph shows political prisoners stepping onto the mainland in Cape Town after their release from Robben Island. (Waterfront, Cape Town, 1991)

Source B *Extract from Chris van Wyk and Luli Callinicos' book* Oliver Tambo, *Maskew Miller Longman, 1996, page 54. They describe how ANC supporters had to adjust to a new situation in which multi-party negotiations replaced the tactics of armed struggle.*

For many decades thousands of people in the ANC and its allied organisations believed that an armed struggle would bring the Apartheid government down. Now Tambo had to convince people inside South Africa, Umkhonto we Sizwe in the camps, and the many African and Western governments that negotiations had to begin.

The National Party was facing a loss of support from some of its supporters. These supporters were afraid of change and they were angry about De Klerk's concessions, and so they were leaving the NP to join the Conservative Party or the AWB. A more serious problem was the fact that many members of the army and police were suspected of being sympathetic to the right-wing and of being opposed to any negotiations with the ANC. Amongst members of the government there were also some who hoped that the National Party could retain its powerful position in the country in an alliance with Inkatha and some homeland leaders.

In addition to these problems, the situation in the townships deteriorated as poverty and unemployment were reaching desperate levels. This was further complicated by increasing violence between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC. The situation was particularly bad in Natal and the townships of the Witwatersrand, where migrant workers living in hostels clashed with township residents. Many people believed that a '**third force**' of security force personnel was encouraging this violence.

Key words

'third force'
a group of army and police who were suspected of stirring up violence between Inkatha and ANC supporters

Source C *The leader of Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi blamed the ANC for the violence of the time, which this extract from his book* South Africa: My Vision of the Future, *St Martin's Press, New York, 1990 shows.*

Behaviour once encouraged by the ANC as integral to the struggle for liberation (it was all right and often a duty to murder 'collaborators' and opponents, including town councillors, policemen, people like myself and anybody else targeted for assassination for whatever reason) is now reaping anarchy [lawlessness].

Violent youth, unemployed adults and others caught up in the chaos are out of control and even if the ANC does, at some stage, admit to regretting its militaristic stance, too much damage will already have been done. Smoke is in the air.

The first round of talks between the two sides, planned for April 1990, were called off by the ANC when a number of residents in the township of Sebokeng south of Johannesburg were killed in clashes with the police. The government was forced to make some concessions so that negotiations could go ahead:

- A judicial commission (under Justice Goldstone) was appointed to investigate the Sebokeng killings.
- Troops were sent into Natal to try to stop the violence in the province.
- A temporary **indemnity** was given to all ANC exiles who would be involved in talks with the government. (This meant that they would be allowed to participate in the talks even if there were criminal charges against them.)

New words
indemnity exemption from prosecution

Activity 2: (pairs) Assess issues related to preparations for negotiation

Use the text, and the specific sources where indicated, to answer these questions.

1 In 1990, when De Klerk announced the unconditional release of Mandela, he announced other reforms as well. List the other reforms made. (5×1) (5)

2 a) Did the National Party lose or gain support after De Klerk's announcement of reform? (1×1) (1)

b) Explain your answer. (2×1) (2)

3 Use the text and Source A to explain the response people had to Mandela's release. (3×1) (3)

4 Use the text and Source B to explain the challenges that the ANC faced as a newly unbanned organisation. (5×2) (10)

5 Explain how the delicate nature of the negotiation process was shown in the events and the aftermath of what happened in Sebokeng in April 1990. (6×1) (6)

6 a) Both Sources B and C address the issue of the use of violence as part of the liberation struggle and the implications of these issues in the early 1990s. Explain the emphasis given in each source. (2×2) (4)

b) Assess to what extent this is influenced by the author of each source. (2×2) (4)

The Groote Schuur Minute: talks about talks

In May 1990 the two sides met at Groote Schuur, the president's residence in Rondebosch, Cape Town and discussed obstacles to negotiation and ways of overcoming these obstacles. They talked about secu-

rity legislation, troops in the townships, the state of emergency, the on-going violence, the position of the homelands, political prisoners, the armed struggle; economic sanctions, and the return of exiles, including the president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, who was still in exile in Lusaka. At the end of the three-day meeting, it was announced in the Groote Schuur Minute that the two sides had agreed on most issues and that they were committed to continue talks. There was some disagreement, however, on who should be seen as a political prisoner and who was a convicted criminal.

The Pretoria Minute and the ANC gives up the armed struggle

The two sides met again in Pretoria in August 1990. At this meeting, the ANC agreed to suspend the armed struggle. In return, the government lifted the state of emergency. These decisions were announced in the Pretoria Minute. It was clear that the process of negotiation was underway.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Discuss what arguments the ANC and the NP government would have made in relation to each of the issues raised at the Groote Schuur meeting and what compromises they reached in the Pretoria meeting.

This 'ceasefire' between the ANC and the government however failed to stop the violence in Natal where battles between Inkatha and ANC supporters continued, and also in the townships where the brutal activities of the 'third force' were causing tension and terror. Many people began to question the intentions and sincerity of the government in the negotiation process, when it was revealed that the government had been secretly funding Inkatha in its struggle against the ANC. As tensions grew, many feared that a peaceful solution to the problems would not be possible.

Photograph of the burning and aftermath of violence between the ANC and Inkatha in rural Natal in the early 1990s

There was still one fundamental difference of opinion between the ANC and the government. This was about the process of drawing up a new constitution.

- The ANC wanted **majority rule** under a constitution drawn up by a democratically elected **constituent assembly**.
- The government wanted some form of power-sharing to protect white economic power, and keep a leading role for the National Party. It was concerned that a democratically elected constituent assembly would not protect the rights of **minorities**.

Key words

majority rule
a government elected by the majority of the population

constituent assembly
a body elected to draw up a new constitution

minorities
groups who form a minority of the population

The talks begin: CODESA

In December 1991, nearly two years after the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela, the talks between the government and the liberation movements finally began. This was the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), where nearly 300 delegates met at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, outside Johannesburg, between December 1991 and May 1992. It was a multi-party conference, at which 19 different groups were represented. However, the Conservative Party, the PAC and AZAPO boycotted the talks, hoping in this way to wreck the negotiations.

Source D *Thlokie Mofokeng, a resident of Soweto, explains the attitude of the PAC and AZAPO towards the negotiations – as quoted by Philip Bonner and Lauren Segal in* Soweto: A History, *Maskew Miller Longman, page 145. The PAC's slogans also show their anti-negotiation position: 'One settler, one bullet'; 'Arm the nation' and 'Consolidate and mobilise for people's war'.*

> The PAC did not condemn Mandela but they were very much against negotiations. They tried to make people believe that Mandela was a genuine political leader but he was, unfortunately, surrounded by the ANC which was too influenced by whites. They also said that the very people who own the land cannot help to distribute it. They said: 'You cannot negotiate to take back something that is yours. You must just take what belongs to you.'

Source E *Some of the more right-wing supporters of the Conservative Party were also members of the white supremacist paramilitary group called the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). The leader of the AWB was Eugene Terre'Blanche. This extract from a speech he gave in 1992 shows how strongly the AWB were against entering into negotiations. (As quoted in Christopher Culpin*, South Africa since 1948: A Study in Depth, *John Murray, London, 2000, page 128)*

> No one dares take the land God gave us. We refuse to live under an ANC government. There will be war in South Africa. That day we will fight like our forefathers and we will fight until we win.

The CODESA talks started in an atmosphere of co-operation, and reached a compromise agreement about drawing up the new constitution. It was to be a two-stage process:

- A multi-party conference would draw up an interim constitution.
- The first elected parliament would use this as a basis for drafting the final constitution.

Most of the participants at CODESA also signed a 'Declaration of Intent' committing themselves to a multi-party democracy. They elected working groups to continue discussions on:

- The principles for a new constitution
- Arrangements for an interim government (to rule the country until elections could be held)
- The future of the homelands
- A timeline for the introduction of the changes.

Source F *This banner of the CODESA logo dominated a wall in the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park where negotiations about the future political structure of South Africa began in December 1991. Nineteen political parties were represented at these talks and the banner reflects the inclusive nature of CODESA and its focus on dialogue.*

The role of the labour movement in the negotiations

The labour movement played an important role in the negotiations. COSATU joined with the unbanned ANC and SACP to form the Tripartite Alliance. Although COSATU wanted to represent itself in its own right in political negotiations, only political parties were given representation at CODESA. Therefore, COSATU members attended as ANC and SACP delegates. For example, Cyril Ramaphosa, who played a leading role at CODESA, was a member of COSATU as well as the ANC. In 1992, when the CODESA negotiations collapsed, COSATU was central in planning and sustaining the campaign of 'rolling mass action'. Some of the features of the constitution that were later adopted (such as **proportional representation** and a presidency limited to two terms) were suggested by COSATU.

Key word

proportional representation
a system of voting in which seats in parliament are allocated according to the proportion of votes which each party receives

COSATU also felt that a plan had to be put into place to ensure that any new government addressed

the issues of poverty, housing shortages and other basic needs, as well as improve working conditions and wages. As a result of this pressure, a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was drafted by the Tripartite Alliance.

Activity 3: (groups) Analyse competing ideas for the future constitution and how the country should be governed

Use the text and your knowledge, as well as the specific sources where indicated, to answer these questions:

1 a) Describe what CODESA was. (1×1) (1)
   b) Who participated in CODESA? (1×1) (1)
   c) What was the purpose of CODESA? (2×1)(2)
2 Identify what the political parties committed themselves to achieving in the early stages of the CODESA talks. (5×1) (5)
3 Explain why the homelands issue would need resolving. (4×1) (4)
4 a) Although only political parties could participate in CODESA, explain why COSATU (a trade union) had such a strong influence at the talks. (3×1) (3)
   b) Describe in what ways COSATU exerted its influence at CODESA.
5 At CODESA the various political parties had to decide on what(2×1) (2) system of government was going to be introduced in the new South Africa (that is the principles to be set down in the constitution). Here are some of the issues on which they had to reach agreement. Differentiate (separate out) the arguments in favour of and against each idea.
   a) Majority rule (where the party that gets the majority of votes has all the power) versus power-sharing (where each party has some kind of representation).
   b) A unitary system (in which power was centralised, so that central government can plan and allocate funding to the various regions), or a federal system (in which the different regions of the country have more autonomy).
   c) One person one vote, with a voting age of 18 years (there were a few people who suggested the voting age be as low as 14 years), or a qualified franchise (in which only adults with a certain income and/or education level should qualify to vote).
   d) A socialist economic system (in which the mines, big industries and many farms would be nationalised (owned by the state), or a capitalist system (which promoted private ownership and competition – many argued that the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in 1989 proved that the communist system could not work). (N/A)
6 Assess to what extent Source F is effective in showing the purpose of CODESA. (2×2) (4)
7 In a paragraph, compare the similarities in attitude to the negotiations shown in Sources D and E. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 7.

The breakdown of negotiations

During 1992 there were severe threats to the negotiation process. Some were overcome but serious violence led to the breakdown of CODESA.

The 'Whites only' referendum

Conservative white voters had been critical right from the beginning of the changes that had happened since De Klerk's speech to parliament in February 1990. Many were bitterly opposed to the removal of the remaining apartheid laws during 1990 and 1991. They were concerned about the ongoing violence in the country, the return of political exiles and the participation of SACP leaders such as Joe Slovo in negotiations with the government. The opening of the CODESA talks in December 1991 confirmed their views that the National Party was about to sell out white interests. More and more of them looked to the Conservative Party or the more extreme AWB to protect Afrikaner interests.

Source G *Extract from Karin Pampallis' book* Mandela, *Maskew Miller Longman, 2000, page 61. Karin Pampallis outlines the many problems facing South Africa at the time of negotiations.*

> It seemed that the unbanning of the political organisations and the release of Mandela and the others had lit a fire under South Africa. A huge pot was beginning to cook, and it looked like it might boil over. There were a lot of ingredients in the pot – moderate white people who were worried about losing their comfortable lifestyle, right-wing white nationalists who were determined not to accept majority rule, black radicals who thought that the only way to gain freedom was to drive white people out of the country, Zulu nationalists who were set on having power in their own part of the country and many others.
>
> Whenever there was a bit of progress in the negotiations, there seemed to be another riot or massacre somewhere in the country. Often, there were reports that the police or the army were either helping the violence to happen, or not doing anything about it when they could. The pot got hotter.

Early in 1992, when the Conservative Party captured a key seat normally held by the National Party in a **by-election**, De Klerk decided to act. He called for a referendum among white voters to see whether they supported the process which he had initiated. The result was a triumph for the reform process. With support from the Democratic Party and big business, nearly 70% of the white **electorate** voted in favour of continuing the negotiations.

Key words

by-election
an election held in one area to replace an elected representative who has died or resigned

electorate
those eligible to vote in an election

Source H *This photograph shows a demonstration of protestors, 20 December 1991. They were against the negotiations taking place at CODESA and their anger at what they saw as F.W. de Klerk's 'betrayal' is clear in their placards.*

CODESA = CIVIL WAR!
C.O.D.E.S.A. REPRESENTS
MILLIONS of BLACK AFRICANS
WHITES WILL NOT SURRENDER SA IS OURS
WE CHOOSE CHRIST
F.W. CHOOSES THE ANTI-CHRIST
UNITARY STATE = CONFLICT & TYRANNY

Many voters were no doubt influenced by positive changes on the international scene: some sanctions had been lifted, and an end to sports boycotts meant that South Africa could participate in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics and the Cricket World Cup in Australia. Some liberal whites, who objected in principle to voting in an all-whites referendum, decided in the end to participate out of fears that a voter stay-away would strengthen the position of the right-wing.

The result of the referendum showed that the threat of a widely supported rightwing backlash against negotiations was unrealistic.

South Africa had become a violent place. On the one hand the negotiators were fighting for a constitution and future which protected human rights and the value of life, while in the streets many people were being killed in politically motivated violence.

Increasing violence and the breakdown of CODESA

By the middle of 1992 the optimism and spirit of goodwill that had characterised the first two years of South Africa's transition to democracy were disappearing. The on going violence in the country reached new heights during the course of the year, and many people feared that a civil war was likely.

Much of this violence was between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha (a Zulu organisation formed in KwaZulu in 1975 by Mangosuthu Buthelezi). In June 1992, in Boipatong in the Vaal triangle, ANC members attending a funeral were attacked in their homes and killed by Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers, helped by the police. The causes of the conflicts between ANC and Inkatha supporters have been much debated. Some argued that the government was stirring up conflict through its use of a 'third force' in support of Inkatha, in order to deliberately derail negotiations. However no direct evidence for this has been found. Others argued that the conflict resulted from Inkatha being excluded from a major role in negotiations which were dominated by its political rival, the ANC. A further reason was the tension between hostel dwellers, who were migrant workers with little connection to the surrounding communities, and impoverished local residents, who resented the presence of the migrant workers when jobs were scarce.

Whatever the causes of this conflict, the outcome was clear. As a result, the ANC formally broke off negotiations with the government and the CODESA talks collapsed. The ANC, SACP and COSATU launched a campaign of 'rolling mass action' that consisted of a general strike by millions of workers followed by mass demonstrations around the country. In September 1992 another massacre took place. This time it happened at Bisho, the capital of the Ciskei homeland, when soldiers fired on protesters, killing a number of unarmed people and injuring over 200 more.

There was so much international concern about the deteriorating situation in South Africa that Western governments put pressure on De Klerk, and the UN sent a team of observers to investigate the political violence.

This photograph shows three of the leaders who met in Johannesburg in July 1992 to discuss the mass action campaign. They are from left: Chris Hani (SACP); Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC) and Jay Naidoo (COSATU).

Source I *The Inkatha Freedom Party held marches and rallies in the 1990s at which supporters carried many different weapons (usually spears and knobkerries) and presented a threatening front. Even though communities asked for these weapons to be banned, Inkatha*

supporters insisted that they should be allowed to carry them, saying that they were 'traditional weapons' and this was part of their culture.

Source J *A major in the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) describes government involvement in the violence in the early 1990s. BOSS was an organisation of military and police advisors to the government, which had been set up by PW Botha in the early 1980s. (Quoted in Christopher Culpin*, South Africa Since 1948, *John Murray, London, 2000, page 131)*

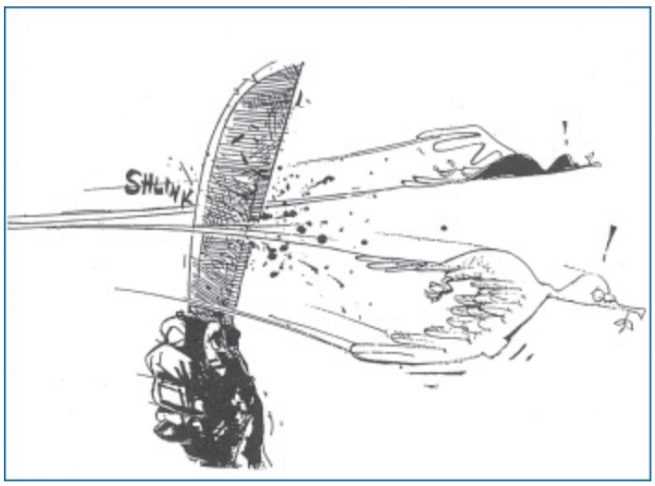
The government decided that black-on-black violence should be one of the strategies and a confrontation between Zulus and Xhosas should be encouraged because the two ethnic groups were the largest in the country. The army recruited people, especially youths, from outside South Africa, mainly rebel soldiers – trained them and sent them to protect compounds and start violence. They were trained to destabilise communities. The strategy was aimed at weakening the ANC and promoting Inkatha in its place.

Source K *Judge Richard Goldstone headed a Commission to investigate the violence. He delivered this report in 1993. (Quoted in Charlene Smith*, Mandela, *Struik, Cape Town, 1999, page 115)*

No-one other than the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress have the power to curb the violence and intimidation being perpetrated by their respective supporters. Even if allegations against members of the security forces prove to be justified, such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and the IFP.

Source L *An extract from the writing of Jon Qwelane*, Sunday Star, *2 May 1993. He comments on the murder of two black journalists and the attempted killing of a white journalist.*

We bred the evil monsters who not only murdered Thusago and maimed Saunders, but also pumped five bullets into the body of another newsman, Sam Msibi. We bred and nurtured those monsters, because we chose to condemn violence only when it was convenient – expedient, perhaps? – to do so. We must stand condemned, every one of us. The so-called 'children of the lost generation' have been allowed free rein to get away with literally murder because we made them something special – they were 'pathetic and hapless victims of a vicious apartheid system', 'soldiers in a moral war', 'brave young lions at the forefront of the struggle', 'children of broken families' and all that tommyrot. We are now reaping the whirlwind of the wind we sowed.



The horror and disillusionment at the wave of violence is captured in this Derek Bauer cartoon. It seemed that a negotiated settlement would not be possible in the face of all the violence. (The dove and the olive branch in its beak are usually symbols of peace.)

As negotiations resumed, two men played a crucial role. They were Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC and Roelf Meyer of the NP.

The Record of Understanding, Joe Slovo and the Sunset Clause

After the Bisho massacre, both the ANC and the government realised that it was crucial that talks between them should re-open. As a result of intense behind-the-scenes negotiations between Cyril Ramaphosa, (representing the ANC), and Roelf Meyer, (representing the government), the two sides agreed to resume talks. In September 1992, they signed a 'Record of Understanding' which made it possible for the work of CODESA to continue. Both the government and the ANC were prepared to make

concessions:

- The government agreed to release more political prisoners; to erect fences around the migrant hostels; and to ban the carrying and displaying of 'traditional' weapons (spears, axes, knobkerries and sharpened metal sticks) by Inkatha members at their rallies.
- The ANC agreed to a government of 'national unity', which would include all parties that obtained over 5% of the vote in democratic elections (which would certainly include the National Party), for the first five years under the new constitution.

The ANC's concession about a government of national unity is regarded as the breakthrough that kept the negotiations going. It was proposed by Joe Slovo, leader of the SACP. Ironically, because of his communist views, many white South Africans had regarded him as a threat, but it was his proposal that broke the **deadlock** between the ANC and the government. This proposal was called the 'Sunset Clause', because the five-year period would mark the old order gradually fading away.

New words

concession
giving in on some points in order to reach agreement

deadlock
a stalemate; a situation in which no progress can be made

Activity 4: (individual) Analyse the causes of political violence and its impact on negotiations

Use the text and your knowledge, as well as the specific sources where indicated, to answer these questions:

1 Read Source G and explain why a negotiated settlement was a delicate process that was going to take time. (2×3) (6)

2 a) Discuss why De Klerk held the 1992 referendum. (2×1) (2)
b) Explain the significance of its outcome. (2×1) (2)

3 Explain the significance of:
a) Boipatong and its aftermath (4×1) (4)
b) Bisho and the Record of Understanding (5×2) (10)
c) the Sunset Clause. (3×1) (3)

4 Evaluate whether there is any evidence in Sources I to L to support each of these statements below. Where there is evidence, explain how it backs up the statement and quote from the sources to support your answer:
a) The government was stirring up conflict through its use of a 'third force' to support Inkatha. (1×1) (1)
b) The government trained forces to destabilise communities. (5×1) (5)
c) Inkatha was not a major player in negotiations. (1×1) (1)
d) There were tensions between hostel (compound) dwellers and the surrounding communities. (2×1) (2)
e) The use of violence by political parties created a climate in which violence came to be accepted as the norm. (10)

5 Explain why historians would need to consult more sources than these to get a thorough understanding of the causes of violence at this time. (3×1) (3)

6 Analyse Source H and explain what the protestors think of CODESA and F.W. de Klerk's reform process. (4×1) (4)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 4(e).

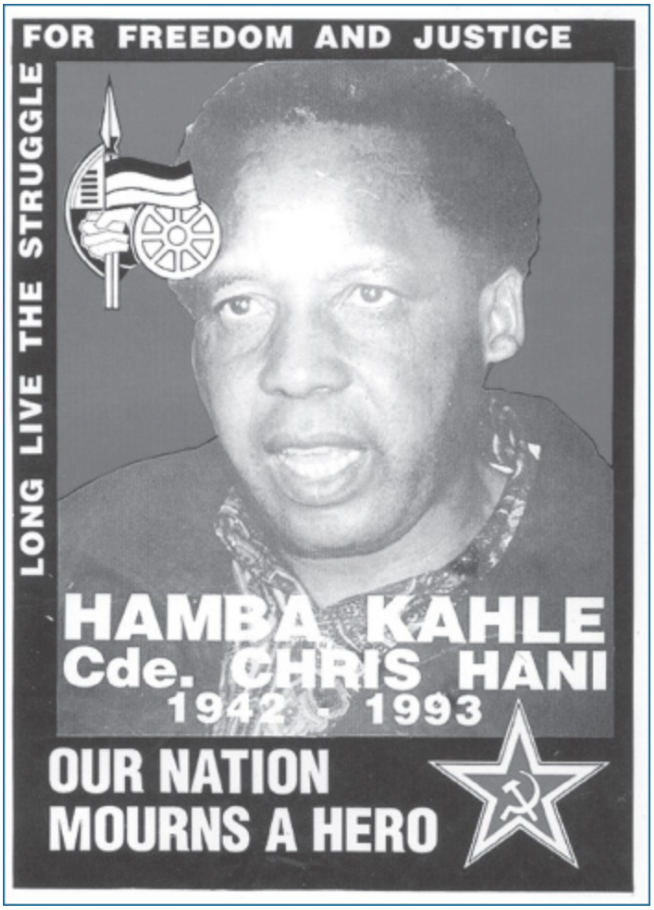
The negotiations resume

The parties agreed to resume negotiations at multiparty talks which were due to start in April 1993.

The murder of Chris Hani

Just before talks resumed, the fragile balance was disrupted when Chris Hani, a popular ANC and SACP leader, was assassinated outside his home in Boksburg. He was shot by an anti-communist Polish immigrant, Janusz Walus, with a gun supplied by a member of the Conservative Party. Hani had played a key role in persuading the more militant ANC youth to accept the negotiating process. For a while it seemed as if all progress had been lost. Hani's killing led to angry township demonstrations and an increase in racial tensions. It was only Mandela's appeal for calm on national television that prevented more violence.

Many people believed that time was running out for South Africa to achieve a peaceful solution. But the crisis injected a sense of urgency into the negotiating teams.



The assassination of Chris Hani heightened an already tense situation. Many people believed that the negotiation process would break down and that there would be a civil war. Some people even started to stockpile food. This is a commemorative poster of Chris Hani.

Source M *This is an extract from an article from Sowetan Live website called '10 days that shook our country'. It was posted on 24 February 2011 and recounts the ten days between Hani's murder and his funeral. It was on the fourth day after his death that Mandela spoke on SATV and called for calm. This account describes what happened from day five. (For the full account see* http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/goodlife/2011/02/24/10-days-that-shook-our-country*)*

DAY FIVE: Thousands of workers throughout the country heed the call for a stay-away and services to commemorate Hani's death are held. At least 17 people are killed and more than 500 injured in a day marked by chaos as thousands of people observe the stay-away call. In Soweto four people are killed and more than 250 injured. The dead include the general secretary of the Soweto region of the ANC, Sam Tambane.

DAY SIX: The aftermath. Mopping up begins after the previous day's stay-away, memorial rallies and violence in which 17 people died. Government officials say police acted with restraint when they opened fire on demonstrators at Protea police station in Soweto after the memorial rally held at the Jabulani Amphitheatre.

DAY SEVEN: Tension runs high as the ANC announces a campaign of mass action and government threatens to put a security clamp on parts of the Reef. Adding to the tension are members of the AWB who provocatively place their organisation's flags opposite the cemetery where Hani is to be buried that day. The ANC, SACP and Cosatu announce the launch of a programme of mass action to pressurise democracy negotiations to announce an election date by the end of May. The PAC says it has names and addresses of people who intend to assassinate the leader of the liberation movement and warns of reprisals.

DAY EIGHT: More than 250 000 people march in Johannesburg, Vanderbiljpark and Pretoria. Two people taking part in the Vanderbiljpark march are killed by a rightwinger. Funeral plans for Hani are finalised.

DAY NINE: Vigils begin throughout the country as thousands converge on the FNB Stadium, near Soweto, where Hani's body lies in state. Mandela and foreign dignitaries are in attendance.

Agreements about an interim constitution and elections

Nearly a year after the collapse of CODESA, talks resumed at the World Trade Centre in April 1993. This became known as the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum, and it included the PAC and CP which had not attended the CODESA talks. By July, the talks had finally reached agreement on the principles of an interim constitution:

- Four hundred representatives would be elected by a system of proportional representation for a National Assembly.
- Nine new provinces would replace the old provinces and homelands.
- There would be a senate (later changed to the National Council of Provinces) with 10 representatives from each of the nine provinces.
- The National Assembly and Senate would sit together as a constituent assembly to draft the final constitution.
- All parties gaining at least 5% of the votes would be represented in a Government of National Unity for the first five years.
- A Bill of Rights would guarantee fundamental freedoms.

The main significance of these agreements was that plans could then be put in place to organise South Africa's first democratic election, in which everyone over the age of 18 would be allowed to vote. The dates selected for this historic event were 27–29 April 1994.

Ongoing violence

Not everyone welcomed the news that the Interim Constitution had finally been approved. There were

several attempts to cause chaos and to prevent the election from going ahead.

The AWB invasion of the World Trade Centre

The progress made at the talks had strengthened right-wing opposition to change. Most outspoken was the AWB, under the fanatical leadership of Eugene Terre'blanche. The AWB openly spoke of using violence. In June 1993, they tried to sabotage the negotiations by crashing an armoured vehicle through the glass front of the World Trade Centre while the talks about the constitution were in progress. About 200 AWB members occupied the building, causing considerable damage and concern. But their actions failed in their intentions, and made the main parties realise even more the need to reach agreement.

As was seen with the assassination of Hani, the power of right-wing elements to disrupt the negotiation process was very real. Here Eugene Terre'blanche leads a protest calling for the release of Barend 'Witwolf' Strijdom, who had been imprisoned for openly shooting and killing black civilians in the streets of Pretoria (Tshwane) in 1988.

Violent attacks by APLA

Members of the extremist armed wing of the PAC, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), also tried to disrupt the negotiation process because they believed that the ANC was conceding too much to whites and undermining the possibilities of revolutionary social and political change. Groups of APLA combatants attacked civilians with guns and hand grenades, including the congregation at a service in St James Church in Kenilworth, Cape Town, where 12 people died and 56 were injured. Another APLA attack on the Heidelberg Tavern, also in Cape Town, claimed four more victims. It was only at the end of 1993 that APLA finally agreed to end the armed struggle.

Activity 5: (pairs) Analyse the impact of Hani's assassination and other acts of violence

Study the text and sources M and N and then answer these questions:

1 Identify the impact Hani's death made on the negotiating process.
2 De Klerk was still president at the time of Hani's assassination(4×1) (4)
but it was Mandela who addressed the nation on television and called for calm. Explain why you think they made that decision. (4×1) (4)
3 Explain why Hani's death almost led to the end of negotiations and seriously introduced the possibility of a full scale civil war. (3×1) (3)
4 Assess how the style in which Source M is written reflects the sense of tension and fear in the situation following Hani's assassination. (6×1) (6)
5 By July 1993 the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum had reached agreement on the principles of an interim constitution. Analyse how these principles reflect a commitment to build democracy. (3×2) (6)
6 Analyse the reasons behind the AWB's storming of the World Trade Centre and APLA's attack on St James Church and the Heidelberg Tavern. (That is, explain the two groups' different political reasons for rejecting the negotiations.) (2×2) (4)

1994: The final road to democracy

In December 1993, the negotiating teams agreed on an interim constitution, which included a Bill of Rights, a Children's Charter and a Women's Charter. However, there were more obstacles to be overcome before democracy was finally achieved.

More violence threatens the election

Right-wing Afrikaners continued in their attempts to disrupt the elections. In the first four months of 1994, there were an estimated 40 bomb blasts, targeting political party offices and voting venues. In one incident in central Johannesburg, a car bomb killed nine people, including an ANC election candidate. Violence continued right up to the election, in last-ditch attempts by right-wingers to prevent it from happening. Another bombing campaign in Johannesburg left 21 dead and 200 injured. The photograph on the next page shows the effect of the car bomb that exploded in central Johannesburg in 1994.

Most homeland leaders supported plans to unite the former homelands with South Africa. However, conservative leaders, such as Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei, feared losing their privileged positions when the homeland system was abandoned. Together with Inkatha and the CP these conservative leaders formed the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) to oppose the plans to abolish the homelands. However, Mangope and Gqozo were forced to step down after strikes by civil servants and soldiers in their homelands. A convoy of armed AWB members 'invaded' Bophuthatswana to support Mangope and to try and restore the status quo. They shot at civilians on the road and injured and killed many. This 'invasion' failed when homeland soldiers fired on the AWB forces and forced them to retreat. Three wounded AWB men were killed by Bophuthatswana police in the presence of TV cameramen. This humiliating defeat ended right-wing attempts to support the homelands and weakened the AWB.

This photograph shows the effects of a car bomb outside the ANC headquarters in 1994.

The Shell House Massacre

A month before the election, matters reached a crisis point when thousands of Inkatha supporters, carrying traditional weapons, marched through the streets of Johannesburg. Near the ANC headquarters at Shell House there were clashes between Inkatha marchers and ANC security guards. In what came to be known as the Shell House Massacre, at least 53 people were killed. Over the next few weeks over 300 more people died in clashes throughout the country. Hopes were fading that a peaceful election could ever take place in these circumstances.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Why did many people think that a civil war was more likely than a negotiated settlement between 1990 and 1994?

The Freedom Front and the IFP join the elections

Although they had been opposed to the negotiation process, many right-wing Afrikaners decided to participate in the election. Together they formed the Freedom Front party (FF).

The attitude of Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), caused a great deal of concern until almost the last minute. For months he refused to have anything to do with the negotiations and threatened to boycott the election. He wanted an **autonomous** Kwazulu, under Inkatha control. One week before the election, after an emergency **summit meeting** between Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi, Buthelezi announced that Inkatha (under its formal name of the Inkatha Freedom Party or IFP) would participate in the election after all. Special strips with the name of the IFP had to be added to the **ballot papers** at the last minute.

New word
autonomous self-governing; looking after its own affairs

Key words

summit meeting
a meeting between leaders

ballot papers
voting papers

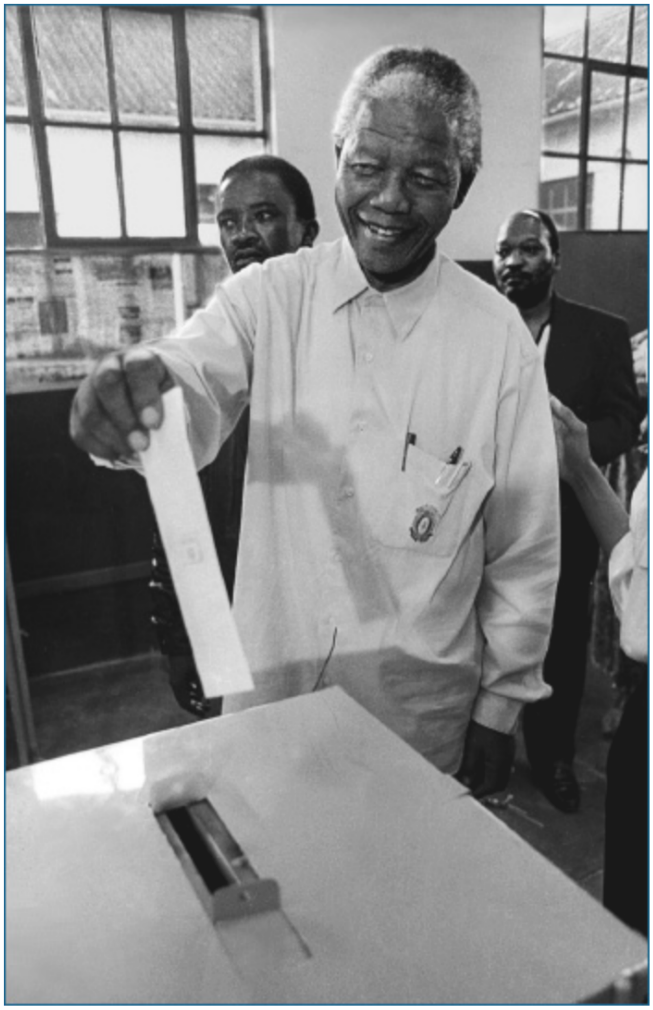
The ANC had formed a tripartite alliance with the SACP and COSATU to fight the election together. Links between the ANC and the SACP went back a long way although the ANC had not formally adopted communist policies. Other significant parties (of the 19 which participated in the election) were the National Party, the Democratic Party and the PAC.

South Africa's first democratic election

All attempts to disrupt the election had failed, even though right-wingers exploded a powerful bomb at Johannesburg International Airport on election day itself. From 27 to 29 April 1994, 20 million people, the majority of whom had never had the opportunity before, voted in the country's first democratic election.

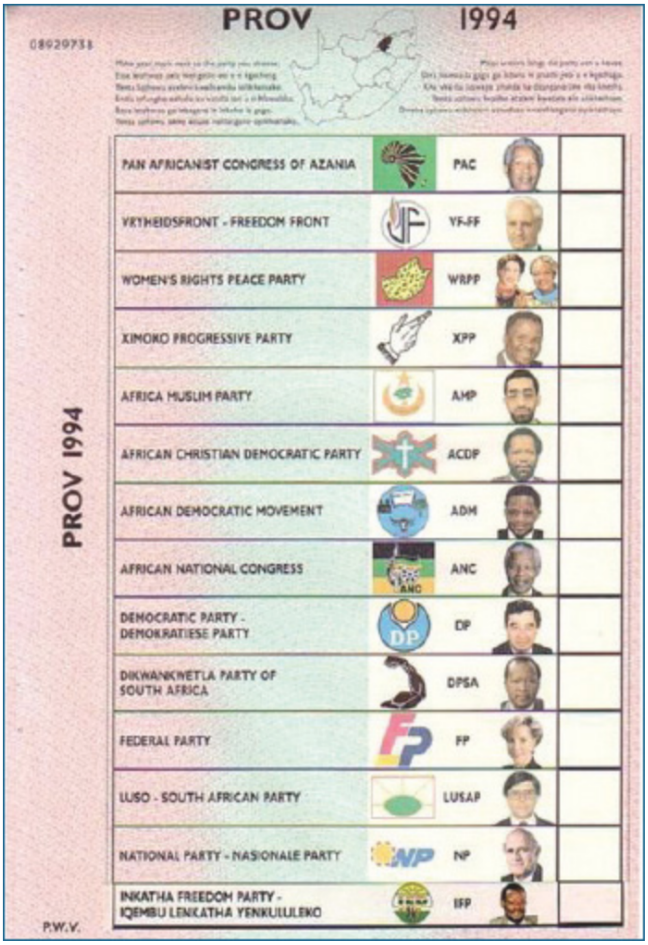
An Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) had been appointed to run the election and ensure that it was 'free and fair'. Many foreign governments and organisations also sent observers. People stood for hours to cast their votes, and in some parts of the country, voting had to be extended so that everyone would have a chance to exercise their right to vote.

The ANC with its alliance partners won nearly 63% of the votes cast, and won a majority in seven of the nine provinces. The National Party won the Western Cape, and Inkatha won a narrow victory in Kwazulu-Natal. There was very little support for any of the other parties.



Nelson Mandela votes for the first time in his life, at Ohlange School in Inanda, 26 March 1994.

Source N *An example showing a part of what the ballot papers in the 1994 election looked like. Notice how the name of each party, the leader's face and the logo of each party is included. This was to help illiterate voters to recognise their choice.*



It took over a week before the counting of the votes was finalised. The results were as follows:

Source O *Election results of the first democratic election in 1994. Only the votes for the top six parties are shown here.*

Party	Votes	Percentage of seats in parliament
ANC	12 237 655	62,65%
NP	3 983 690	20,39%
IFP	2 058 294	10,54%
FF	424 555	2,17%
DP	338 426	1,73%
PAC	243 478	1,25%

The Government of National Unity

In terms of the Sunset Clause, it had been agreed that for the first five years, any party which gained at least 5% of the votes would be represented in a Government of National Unity. This meant that the ANC, the National Party and the IFP all qualified to be included in this **coalition** government. The cabinet of the Government of National Unity included 12 representatives from the ANC, six from the NP and three

from the IFP. Nelson Mandela became the first president, with Thabo Mbeki and F.W. de Klerk as deputy presidents. Mangosuthu Buthelezi became Minister of Home Affairs.

Key word

coalition
a government formed by two or more parties

The main task facing the Government of National Unity was to transform South Africa into a working democracy. This involved many changes: the former homelands were incorporated into nine new provinces; the civil service and police force had to be restructured; and a new national defence force created, integrating former guerrilla fighters with the apartheid-era army. New national symbols (a flag, anthem and some new public holidays) were adopted to promote a new national identity. Above all, the government had to tackle the enormous economic and social problems that South Africa was facing after years of apartheid, isolation and sanctions.

This photograph shows a woman in traditional clothing during Freedom Day (the anniversary of the 1994 election) celebrations in Pretoria.

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights

The Government of National Unity started its term of office under an interim constitution. The elected members of the two houses of parliament (the 400 members of the National Assembly and the 90 members of the Senate) together formed a Constituent Assembly to draft the final Constitution. It was chaired by Cyril Ramaphosa and supported by a huge team of technical and legal advisors.

Source P *This cartoon by Zapiro shows the change in power relations between De Klerk and Mandela. The paintings are of the former State Presidents. Notice the papers in the 'in box' showing the huge number of issues that need to be dealt with by Mandela. It was published on 12 May 1994 in the* Sowetan *newspaper.*

One of the key concerns of the GNU was to ensure that the views of ordinary people were taken into account before the Constitution was finalised. But this was not easy. South Africa had a population of over 40 million people, with a large rural population, many of whom were illiterate, and did not have access to electronic media (like the internet or television). There was also no tradition of consultation between government and citizens. Many communities did not recognise the importance of a constitution.

The Constitutional Assembly launched a massive media campaign to inform people about the constitutional process. The slogan, 'You've made your mark, now have your say' was used to encourage people to participate. Public meetings were held in all nine provinces, and numerous workshops were held where issues could be discussed. People were encouraged to send in written submissions. Altogether 1,7 million written submissions were made. These submissions dealt with a wide range of issues, including abortion, the death penalty, animal rights, environmental rights and pornography.

The new Constitution was finally adopted in May 1996. South Africa was now a constitutional democracy with a Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights listed the fundamental human rights of all citizens, and focused in particular on the protection of the rights of women and children. It created institutions like the Human Rights Commission to defend human rights and a Constitutional Court to protect and uphold the Constitution. It also entrenched the separation of the three branches of government: the **executive**, the **judiciary** and the **legislature** which is essential for the maintenance of a secure democracy.

Key words

executive
the branch of government that runs the country; the President and cabinet

judiciary
The branch of government that judges people according to the law (judges, magistrates)

legislature
the elected body that makes the laws for a country (parliament)

This billboard advertising the new Constitution was part of the government's media campaign to educate people about the importance of the Constitution and to make sure people learnt about their rights. This photograph was taken at a ceremony in Sharpeville in May 1996 where the signing of the Constitution was celebrated.

Source Q *An extract from Hassen Ebrahim's article, 'The South African Constitution: Birth*

Certificate of a Nation' published in Bill Nasson (series editor), Negotiation, Transition and Freedom, *Turning Points Series Book 6, STE Publishers, Johannesburg, 2004, pages 44–45. Here he shows how the different concerns of the various political parties during negotiations are reflected in the Bill of Rights and he explains why we need to protect and promote the values of the Constitution.*

The vibrancy of different interests and ideas can best be seen in the Bill of Rights. The interests of the ANC and their constituency in the reconstruction and transformation of society are clearly reflected in the catalogue of socio-economic rights. The Democratic Party's traditional stance on individual rights such as freedom of expression is also present. The Pan Africanist Congress's principled positions on fundamental rights and the rights of those detained and arrested also have a special place. The interests of the National Party were secured by tempering the clauses on property, labour relations, education and culture. As mentioned above, the influence exerted by civil society, especially religious, human rights, business, labour and women's groupings, is clear in the drafting of the various clauses …

Our Constitution is one of the most advanced in the world, with a Bill of Rights second to none. As such, it enables South Africans to create and enjoy one of the most vibrant democracies in the world. However, like any other law, the Constitution is only as good as its citizens allow it to be. The Constitution does no more than set out rights, the rules by which government is run, the structures of government, and the parameters within which laws can be made and government conducted. No matter how dynamic any law may be, unless the government is able to implement and enforce the law it will lose its value. Similarly, no matter how wonderful the Constitution may be, unless it is respected by all – government and citizens alike – it will not be of much value. Laws do not make a better society; people do. Laws can only be of assistance in empowering people to achieve their aspiration …

Activity 6: (individual) Understand the election, the principles of the Constitution and the promotion of democracy

Use your knowledge from the text to answer all questions unless otherwise indicated.

1 Describe how the following made it seem possible that the election would not happen:
   a) right-wing bombing (3×1) (3)
   b) COSAG (3×1) (3)
   c) violence between the ANC and Inkatha. (3×1) (3)
2 Indicate how the tripartite alliance was represented in the election.
3 Use the text to explain why the block for the IFP on the ballot (2×1) (2)
paper (Source N) looks different from those for the other parties.
4 Explain why the ballot (Source N) includes more than just the (2×1) (2)
names of the political parties. (2×1) (2)
5 a) Use the text and Source O to explain how the Government of National Unity was formed. (2×1) (2)
   b) Who was included in the Government of National Unity? (2×1) (2)
   c) Explain what a coalition government is. (2×1) (2)
6 Use the text and Source P to explain the challenges that the newly elected government faced. (3×3) (9)
7 Explain why ordinary people were consulted and included in the process of drawing up the Constitution. (2×1) (2)
8 Explain the following terms that are mentioned in the text:
   a) Constitutional democracy (4×1) (4)
   b) Constitutional Court (2×1) (2)
   c) Separation of the three branches of government. (2×3) (6)
9 Study Source Q and answer these questions:
   a) Interpret how paragraph 1 shows that the Constitution addressed the concerns of people with varying points of view. (5×1) (5)
   b) According to this source, explain the role of the Constitution and why it is vital that every citizen understands the importance of the Constitution. (3×2) (6)

Practice essays

1 'It seemed like a miracle that South Africa had a democratic election in 1994.' Discuss the accuracy of this statement by evaluating to what extent politically motivated violence threatened the negotiation process between 1990 and 1994.
2 To what extent did both sides show willingness to compromise in the negotiations between the ANC and the government which took place between 1990 and 1994?

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

In the negotiations leading to the 1994 elections, the ANC and National Party agreed on the creation of a commission to investigate apartheid-era crimes. In 1995, the Government of National Unity established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), after passing the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (No. 34 of 1995), under the chairmanship of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Reasons for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The overall aim of the TRC was to investigate politically motivated violations of human rights during the apartheid era. Its underlying purpose was to uncover the truth about what had happened and, in this way, to make everyone aware of the past so that they could start the process of national reconciliation.

More specifically, the aims of the TRC were:

- to investigate the causes and extent of human rights violations under apartheid (between 1960 and 1994)
- to recommend **compensation** for victims
- to grant **amnesty** to **perpetrators** under certain conditions. In return for this amnesty, individuals or political parties had to give a full and public **testimony** of their actions.

New words

compensation
payment or support for losses experienced

perpetrator
someone who has committed a crime

testimony
an account giving evidence

Key word

amnesty
an official pardon for someone who has committed a crime

This was the logo designed for the TRC, which took place between 1996 and 1998.

Various forms of justice

There are different ways of dealing with crimes against humanity. One way focuses on justice and punishment and is called 'retributive justice' (retribution means revenge). The Nuremberg Trials, which were held in Germany after the Second World War, were based on retributive justice. After the defeat of Nazi Germany, the Allies set up military courts in Nuremberg to put on trial people accused of war crimes. These included Nazi political and military leaders, as well as the people who had actually carried out **atrocities**. Some of them were sentenced to death for their part in these crimes; many others were given prison sentences. Even engineers, doctors, businessmen and judges were tried for their role in carrying out Nazi policies. The Allies wanted to show the world that no government had the right or power to carry out laws that systematically violate human rights.

Key word
atrocities extreme actions of cruelty

However, the TRC did not function like this. It was based on the principle of 'restorative justice' (restorative means healing), where the emphasis was on forgiveness and reconciliation. It was not a court of law. It could not prosecute people or hand out judgments. The function of the TRC was to create a process for uncovering the truth about what had happened. It was hoped that knowledge of this truth would help promote national reconciliation. Archbishop Desmond Tutu emphasised that only after knowing the truth about such activities could full reconciliation be achieved in the country.

Source A *This view of Justice Richard Goldstone is quoted by Yonah Seleti, (ed.) in* Africa Since 1990, *New Africa Education, 2004 on page 212. He explains how the creation of a truth commission, including the aspect of amnesty, was agreed to during the negotiation process.*

The decision to opt for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission was an important compromise. If the ANC had insisted on Nuremberg-style trials for the leaders of the former apartheid government, there would have been no peaceful transition to democracy, and if the former government had insisted on a **blanket amnesty** then, similarly, the negotiations would have broken down. A bloody revolution sooner rather than later would have been inevitable. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is a bridge from the old to the new.

New word

blanket amnesty
a pardon for everyone involved

Source B *This cartoon shows Dullah Omar explaining why the TRC was necessary. Omar was the Minister of Justice at the time who initiated the establishment of the TRC by Parliament. It was drawn by Zapiro and published in* The Sowetan *in 1995.*

Source C *An extract from an interview with Archbishop Desmond Tutu in which he explains why restorative justice is appropriate in an African context. (From the* Mail and Guardian *newspaper, 17 March 1996)*

God has given us a great gift, ubuntu … Ubuntu says I am human only because you are human. If I undermine your humanity, I dehumanise myself. You must do what you can to maintain this great harmony, which is perpetually undermined by resentment, anger, desire for vengeance. That's why African jurisprudence [legal theory] is restorative [repairing] rather than retributive [punishing].

The work of the TRC

The TRC began its work in 1996, and for two years it held hearings around the country. These hearings were broadcast live on radio and television. Over 22 000 victims told their stories at these hearings or made statements to the TRC. The Commission hearings were chaired by people who were chosen by President Mandela. These were people who had a history of promoting human rights and social justice; they were racially diverse and came from a range of political backgrounds.

Three separate committees were involved in the TRC:

- Firstly, people came to the *Committee on Human Rights Violations* to tell their stories. The public testimonies and national coverage of them helped South Africans to know more about the atrocities of the past.

- Secondly, the *Committee on **Reparation** and Rehabilitation* investigated the stories told by victims and gave them support where possible. In some cases, they were given reparations for their suffering and loss.
- Thirdly, the *Committee on Amnesty* could grant amnesty from **prosecution** to perpetrators of political violence, if they could prove that their crimes were done for a political motive and not for personal malice or gain. Importantly, they also had to tell the whole truth and to acknowledge what they had done.

New words

reparation
support or financial help to make up for hurt or damage caused

prosecution
charged in a court of law

The TRC did not only investigate the actions of those who had worked for the apartheid government. It also dealt with the actions of the liberation movements, as well as those of politicians and their supporters in the pre-election violence.

The public testimony, both from those who had fought for or against apartheid, revealed just how much violence had been carried out in the previous decades. These ranged from well-publicised events, such as the murder of the Cradock Four and the Bisho massacre, to thousands of cases of ordinary South Africans who were caught up in the violence. Some people who told their stories wanted revenge; others wanted compensation. Some, like Phila Ndwandwe's family, simply wanted to find out the truth about what had happened to their family members who had simply disappeared.

The Cradock Four – Sparrow Mkhonto, Sicelo Mhlauli, Fort Calata, and Matthew Goniwe – were abducted and killed by police while they were travelling from Port Elizabeth to Cradock in June 1985. Their bodies and the car in which they were travelling were burnt. They had been well respected leaders in Cradock. Their funeral was one of the largest in the history of the anti-apartheid struggle. The security forces responsible for their killing applied for amnesty, but it was not granted on the grounds that they had not made a full disclosure of what had happened.

Source D *From Piet Meiring*, Chronicle of the Truth Commission, *Carpe Diem Books, Vanderbijlpark, 1999, page 371*

For the 21 000 victims and their families, who submitted their stories in writing or told them in public, it was generally a healing experience. Not everyone experienced it positively; there were those who returned home disappointed and frustrated. But for the great majority it was a cathartic experience, even though it was difficult to take the stand, to relive the past. The tears that flowed freely were usually tears of healing. The aged Xhosa woman who in East London told the terrible story of her 14 year old child being tortured and killed, spoke on behalf of many others: 'Oh, yes, Sir, it was worth the trouble. I think that I will immediately fall asleep tonight, for the first time in sixteen years, and I will not have nightmares …'

Source E *Mathatha Tsedu, writing in the* Sowetan, *1998, describes the emotions that were caused by the TRC hearings.*

We were moved by the testimony, the fears, the sobs and the wailing of survivors and relatives who could not take the memories and the revelations. We cried a little too in our homes.
We also sat glued to the radio and television screens as killers of our patriots spoke of the murders they committed to defend white hegemony.
We hissed as the men, with no visible remorse, spoke of the pyres and burning of human bodies alongside the lamb chops and steak barbeques on the banks of various rivers of our land.
We got even more angry as the men walked away scot-free after such testimony.

Activity 1: (individual) Understand the aims and structure of the TRC

1 Use the text to describe the purpose and aims of the TRC. (6×1) (6)
2 How does Source A justify why a Nuremberg-style of justice was not used? (3×1) (3)
3 Decide whether and in what ways Sources A, B and C substantiate the idea that the intention of the TRC was to promote reconciliation. Explain your answer with reference to each source. (10)
4 Use the text to explain what each of the three committees of the TRC did. (3×2) (6)
5 Use the text and Sources D and E to explain how this process involved the whole nation and why it was so emotional. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 5.

Debates concerning the TRC

Even before the TRC started its work there were debates and differences of opinion about it. Some people believed that there should be war crimes tribunals instead, like the Nuremberg Trials. Others opposed the whole idea of a truth commission, believing that it would re-open old wounds that were beginning to heal. But Mandela and many others firmly believed that it was essential to uncover the injustices of the past so that South Africa could move forwards.

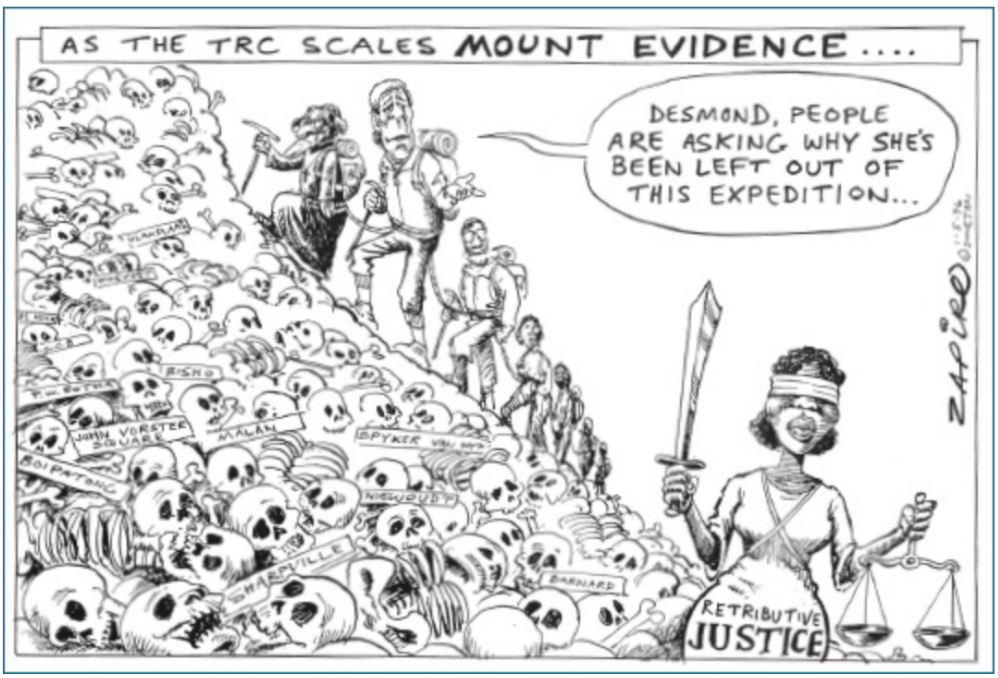
While the TRC hearings were being held, opinions about the TRC differed sharply. Some whites tried to ignore the proceedings and thought that the past should be left alone; others denounced it as a **witch-hunt**; other embraced it and many were shocked by the revelations. Many blacks believed that justice had not been done and that too many murderers were able to walk free. Some families of victims were critical of the whole process, notably the families of the murdered Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko, and others who applied unsuccessfully to the Constitutional Court for the whole TRC process to be stopped.

New word

witch-hunt
an investigation to uncover people suspected of a crime, but often used as a means of undermining those with opposing views

The TRC's Nomsa Gumede comforts Shupping Motlhale at a TRC hearing in the Bloemfontein City Hall on 2 July 1997 as he gives evidence of his torture by Bophuthatswana soldiers during the apartheid era. Gumede was one of the official comforters who gave victims emotional support before, during and after their hearing. Both wear headphones because they speak a different language from the commissioner who is asking the questions. (Interpreters were used to translate.)

Source F *This Zapiro cartoon shows 'retributive justice' being left out of the TRC mountaineering expedition. The man speaking is Alex Boraine, deputy chairperson of the TRC. Justice is traditionally drawn as a blindfolded 'Lady Justice' who holds the scales of justice. They symbolise the fairness and impartiality of the law. The sword represents the punishing role of justice. This cartoon was published in* The Sowetan *in 1996.*


AS THE TRC SCALES MOUNT EVIDENCE....
DESMOND, PEOPLE ARE ASKING WHY SHE'S BEEN LEFT OUT OF THIS EXPEDITION...
RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE
Zapiro

The TRC as an instrument of reconciliation

One of the aims of the TRC was to overcome the past through confession and forgiveness, so that South Africans could start to be reconciled with each other and work together more effectively to build a new nation. The new Constitution supported the idea of national unity based on reconciliation and the recon-

struction of society. Many people believed that there was a strong link between the TRC and nation-building.

There were certainly many examples of this. Televised sessions showed perpetrators asking for forgiveness and victims granting forgiveness in scenes which promoted the positive advantages of reconciliation for creating a better nation. The appointment of Archbishop Tutu as Chairman also gave an emphasis to the Christian principle of granting forgiveness to those who were truly repentant in order to live a better life in the future. However, some people were critical of the Christian emphasis of the rhetoric and style of the TRC.

Some people questioned whether it was possible to build a single South African nation in this way. They questioned whether the TRC had brought about reconciliation or simply created further divisions. Not all victims or their families were willing to forgive; they wanted justice rather than merely truth.

Activity 2: (groups) Examine the TRC as an instrument of reconciliation

1 Study Source F and answer these questions:
   a) Explain the two main symbols that are used in this cartoon. (2×3) (6)
   b) Explain to what Boraine is referring. (3×1) (3)
   c) What answer do you think Tutu would give? (3×2) (6)

Use your understanding of the text to answer questions 2 and 3.

2 a) Explain the difference between restorative and retributive justice. (2×3) (6)
   b) Explain why choosing the restorative path was **controversial**. (3×1) (3)

3 a) Discuss what kind of national identity the new democratic government wanted to create and why. (3×1) (3)
   b) Evaluate how the TRC was meant to facilitate this. (4×1) (4)

New word

controversial
an issue about which people have strong and widely differing views

THINK AND DISCUSS: Discuss whether the TRC process was enough to bring about reconciliation. Evaluate what the role of ordinary citizens in South Africa is in bringing about reconciliation.

The issue of amnesty

The whole issue of amnesty was controversial. Some of the victims or their families were angry that the perpetrators of gross human rights violations escaped punishment. They believed that they should have been tried in a court of law and sentenced for their crimes. For example, the Biko and Mxenge families took the TRC to the Constitutional Court to challenge amnesty provisions on the grounds that this removed their constitutional right to seek **redress** in the criminal courts. They lost their case.

New word

redress
restore, remedy, put right

Many victims found it difficult to accept that people who were guilty of appalling crimes should be allowed to walk free simply because they had made a public confession. Also, not that many applicants came forward and often they were people who had already been convicted of the crime in court and now were using the amnesty process to get out of jail. Another factor that angered many people was that not all of those who applied for amnesty expressed any remorse for their actions. However, amnesty was by no means automatic: of the 7 116 applications for amnesty only 1 167 were granted.

Granting amnesty was a political compromise but, for the victims and perpetrators directly involved, it was meeting each other face-to-face and hearing the story of the other that helped them to move forward.

More importantly, having the testimony of perpetrators enabled the Commission to carry out further investigations. In this way much more of the truth about the period was uncovered through their testimonies than would have been the case if only victims had been allowed to testify.

A further problem was that those who did not apply for amnesty should have faced prosecution, but this did not happen. Leading apartheid politicians such as P.W. Botha refused to admit to any wrongdoing or to apply for amnesty. They escaped any kind of punishment. Magnus Malan, the former Minister of Defence, was put on trial but because of uncertainties over how far he was directly responsible for actions carried out by members of the security forces, he was not convicted.

Amnesty applicants had to give full disclosure of their involvement and so many of their testimonies included harrowing descriptions of the torture techniques they used to extract information from political prisoners. Here Jeff Benzien demonstrated to the TRC the 'wet bag' technique that he had used. (A wet bag was repeatedly put over the head of the victim until they virtually suffocated; once revived the process was repeated.)

The issue of selective focus

Because the TRC focused on the human rights abuses that had taken place during the 1980s, it ignored many other injustices that had taken place during the apartheid era. For example, it did not investigate

the wider human rights abuses of the earlier phases of apartheid, such as the imprisonment of millions of pass law offenders, detention without trial, and the forced removal of over 4 million people.

The TRC had the power to subpoena (force by law) people to appear before it. However in the interests of reconciliation, it sometimes failed to do this. For example the TRC decided not to subpoena the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, because it was feared that forcing him to appear might lead to further violence between Inkatha and ANC supporters. As a result the underlying causes of the institutionalised violence between Inkatha and the ANC in the late 1980s and early 1990s were not fully investigated.

A further issue was the limited investigation of institutions as perpetrators of injustice since most of the TRC's focus was on individuals. Special hearings were held with testimonies from business and labour organisations, faith communities, the legal community, health sector, the media and political parties, and former military conscripts. However, there was no compulsion to give evidence or acknowledge wrong doing. Many believed that key institutions which had supported apartheid, such the mining companies, were left untouched by proceedings which focused on individual human rights abuses.

Activity 3: (individual) Analyse the amnesty process

Use the information in the text to answer these questions:

1 Why did the Biko family challenge the amnesty provisions at the Constitutional Court? (3×1) (3)

2 a) Blanket amnesty was not accepted during the negotiation process between 1990 and 1994. (See Source A.) Define what the term 'blanket amnesty' means. (1×2) (2)

b) Assess why the National Party originally wanted this to be part of the negotiated settlement. (2×1) (2)

3 Explain what an applicant had to do at the TRC to be granted amnesty. (3×1) (3)

4 Explain why perpetrators did not have to show remorse for their crimes to be granted amnesty. (3×1) (3)

5 a) Examine the ways in which the special hearings increased people's understanding of the period. (4×1) (4)

b) Explain why the special hearings were also criticised. (2×1) (2)

THINK AND DISCUSS: Why is the telling of personal accounts of ordinary people so important in the historical record of any country, but particularly in capturing the truth in the TRC process in South Africa?

The issue of reparations

The issue of reparations was also controversial. Some people, including some victims and their families, thought that the idea of a monetary payment was wrong in principle as this was not why they had come forward to give evidence. They believed that the suffering of people could not be compensated for in this way. Others, such as Hlengiwe Mkhize, the senior commissioner on the Reparations Committee, argued that reparations were necessary for the victims to balance the generosity that amnesty provided for perpetrators.

At the time of the closing of the TRC in 1998, only 1 000 reparation claims had been approved, while more than 25 000 remained unprocessed. However, many of the victims who were awarded reparations received little compensation, partly because the government could not afford it. Attempts to get business

companies to contribute were not very successful. Some believed that the perpetrators, rather than the government, should provide compensation to victims, but there were no provisions for this in the Act.

Some reparations took the form of non-financial benefits. For example, death certificates were issued, details were given of burial places and tombstones were erected, which enabled families to appropriately commemorate their dead. This gave many people emotional closure around their loss.

The responses of political parties to the TRC

Some people refused to appear before the TRC. The most prominent of these was P.W. Botha, the former president, whose government had allowed the use of death squads to kill its opponents. F.W. de Klerk appeared before the TRC and made a formal apology for apartheid, but insisted that he had never authorised or been aware of the excesses of the brutal actions of the security forces. He later took legal action to prevent the publication of a paragraph in the final report which held him responsible for the activities of a 'third force' between 1990 and 1994. When the draft report of the TRC was published, De Klerk expressed the view that the TRC had conducted a witch-hunt against people who had worked for the National Party government.

Some agents of the apartheid government claimed that they had been carrying out the orders of those in authority. One of these was Eugene de Kock, nicknamed 'Prime Evil', who was the commander of a notorious prison farm, Vlakplaas. Here many anti-apartheid activists were tortured, turned into *askaris* (agents for the state), or killed. At the time of the TRC hearings he was in jail, serving two life sentences for his role in these murders. His actions were considered too appalling and therefore he was not allowed to apply for amnesty. He did give evidence to the TRC, however. He implicated cabinet members, generals in the army and police, as well as Botha and De Klerk, for either authorising, being involved in, or knowing about the 'dirty tricks' used by the apartheid government. Some regarded him and others like him as **scapegoats** for those who had given the orders, and who now walked free.

New word

scapegoat
someone who is blamed or punished for the crimes of others

Dov Fedler's cartoon, published in The Star *newspaper in 1997, shows Mbeki representing the ANC, Eugene de Kock who testified at the TRC and was a state operative (he did not apply for amnesty and is still serving two life sentences in jail) and F.W. de Klerk who claimed not to know about hit squads and covert operations. Above the men, we see Tutu's thoughts about each one. (Fedler is playing with the word 'Amnesty' in this cartoon.)*

The ANC and the PAC were angered by the fact that the TRC made no distinction between the crimes committed by agents of the apartheid state and those committed by the liberation movements. Thabo Mbeki, who represented the ANC at the hearings, felt very strongly about this. It was only when Tutu threatened to resign, that members of the ANC agreed to apply for amnesty for deeds committed. The ANC later tried, unsuccessfully, to block the publication of the whole TRC report because human rights abuses that took place in ANC training camps were criticised in the report.

The IFP also had major problems working with the TRC, which it believed was biased towards the ANC. However just before the deadline for submissions, the IFP advised its members to submit statements, possibly because otherwise they would not be entitled to reparations. Over 5 000 Inkatha members did so, flooding the TRC's Durban office with statements. Nonetheless Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, was critical of the final report because it played down the violence that had taken place between Africans and focused instead on the actions of the apartheid state.

Certain prominent individuals such as Winnie Mandela testified at the hearings, but refused to accept personal accountability for the human rights abuses carried out. They claimed that the situation at the time warranted their decisions and behaviour.

The findings of the TRC

The TRC presented its interim report to President Mandela in October 1998. A final report which included outstanding amnesty application decisions was presented in April 2003. In its report, the TRC concluded that the National Party government under P.W. Botha was responsible for torture, arson, abduction and sabotage. The report also criticised De Klerk for the activities of the 'third force' which had tried to disrupt negotiations.

The TRC was also critical of some actions of those who were fighting apartheid. These included the torture and executions that had taken place in ANC training camps in exile, the attacks by APLA guerrillas which had resulted in civilian casualties, and the necklace executions that supporters of the UDF had carried out in the 1980s.

When the TRC formally presented its report to President Mandela in October 1998, he stated his belief that the report had laid the foundation for reconciliation. But other key figures disagreed: Mbeki (who had represented the ANC before the TRC) insisted that it had been wrong to judge the violence used by the liberation struggle to fight against apartheid in the same way as the violence used by the police and state operatives to uphold the system. De Klerk accused the TRC of seeking revenge rather than reconciliation. Buthelezi believed it had favoured the ANC's version of events over that of Inkatha.

This Zapiro cartoon shows how the TRC was criticised by all political parties, from the Freedom Front to the PAC. Finally though, its report was written and presented to President Mandela. This cartoon was published in the Sowetan *on 29 October 1998.*

Did the TRC establish either truth or reconciliation? Archbishop Tutu argued that although truth might not lead to reconciliation, there could be no genuine reconciliation unless there was truth. He said: 'Reconciliation based on falsehood, on not facing up to reality, is not true reconciliation and will not last.' While reconciliation was difficult to achieve, certainly much had been brought to light which ensured the past could not be forgotten. The TRC did not set out to achieve reconciliation but to start the process.

Source G *Martin Meredith*, The State of Africa, *Jonathan Ball, 2005, page 659–660 sums up the findings of the TRC.*

The achievements of the TRC were considerable. It had established beyond all doubt that death squads had operated not as aberrations but as part and parcel of the system of government oppression; that torture had been used systematically and in effect condoned as official practice; and that violence between rival black factions had been officially encouraged, supported and financed. It had established the chain of command leading to the highest levels of government.

It had confronted the liberation movements with their own crimes of murder, torture and necklacing, refusing to judge these crimes any differently from government crimes.

It had helped solve many of the murders and disappearances that for so long had troubled so many families. It had also provided a hearing for thousands of victims and their families, affording many people relief from their suffering and grief for the first time.

Source H *This extract of an article by Graeme Simpson is called 'Tell no lies, claim no easy victories – a brief evaluation of South Africa's TRC' (Historical Papers/The Library, University of the Witwatersrand/South African History Archives). He points out how we should not oversimplify or romanticise the successes of the TRC and that we must apply its lessons in moving forward as a nation. (Simpson is the Executive Director of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Johannesburg)*

There is a temptation to romanticise the South African transition and assume its completed achievements – many of which are already accredited to the TRC process – without looking critically enough at our future and the problems which may present themselves a little further down the line …

The challenges therefore are not only to restore law, justice and rule of law, but to rebuild the integrity of legal institutions. The challenge of the South African transition is not only to build a Constitution with paper rights, but we have to go far beyond that – after the life of the TRC – in translating the lessons and understandings which the TRC has given us into a popular culture which deals with sustained violence and with sustained race and gender prejudice in our society ... all as part of building an embryonic humans right culture which will underpin the Constitution and the paper rights.

Activity 4: (pairs) Explain criticisms and support of the TRC

1 a) According to the text, identify the complaints each political party had about the TRC. (3×2) (6)
   b) Assess why their dissatisfaction was inevitable. (3×1)(3)
2 a) Read the Skills Support information on 'How to prepare for source-based questions in the examination'. Use the sources in this unit and set one of each type of question. (N/A)
   b) Discuss your questions with other groups. (N/A)
3 Compare the different analyses of the significance of the TRC given in Sources G and H. (10)
4 a) Many people felt that the Reparations Committee was the least successful of the three TRC committees. Assess why this was so.
   b) Explain how this would affect the reconciliation process. (3×1) (3)
5 Assess whether the fact that all political parties criticised the TRC shows that it was impartial. (2×1) (2) (2×1) (2)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 3.

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to prepare for source-based questions in the examination

This table shows you some of the types of questions you could be asked in source-based sections in the examinations. It then suggests the type of response that is required and gives you examples of questions.

	Exam questions require you to:	What you need to do to answer the question:	Example of this type of question:
Level 1 (30% of questions)	Answer a straight content question	Show your knowledge and understanding (that is what you have learned).	What developments during the 1960s strengthened China's international status?
	Find evidence in the source to support your answer	Select details from the source. (Or the question may require you to quote from the source to support your answer.)	President Julius Nyerere had three main goals after independence. What does Source B tell you these goals were?
Level 2 (40% of questions)	Compare the content of different sources	Explain the issues raised or areas of content given in two or three sources – also look for similarities and differences or contradictions.	Does Source A corroborate what is said in Source B? Explain your answer with reference to both sources.
	Identify and analyse the argument or interpretation	State the message and then pick out and explain the parts of the source which back this up.	Identify the perspective on the amnesty process given in this source. Explain your view.
	Compare the interpretation given in different sources	Explain the analytical emphasis or perspective given and show how you know this.	Which interpretation does Source A support and is this point of view supported by Source B? Or: Compare how Sources X and Y differ in their assessment of the success of the TRC.
Level 3 (30% of questions)	Assess the bias of the interpretation	Look for emotive language, or exaggeration, or repetition to stress a point, or over-simplification and one-sidedness.	Is the source neutral or subjective? Explain your answer. Or: How does the language used show the bias of the author?
	Evaluate the reliability of a source	Check its factual accuracy (based on your own knowledge); then look at who wrote it, when and why; and comment on its bias.	How does the writer's position in relation to the events influence his or her interpretation? Or: Can you trust this person's account as accurate?
	Assess the usefulness of a source as evidence	Identify the categories of information it gives; and what it shows about the attitudes, feelings and values of people at the time.	Does the bias of this source undermine its value as evidence? Or In what ways is oral testimony a useful kind of evidence?
	Assess the value and limitations of a source	Look at origin and purpose; range of content; one-sidedness.	What are the limitations of this source for historians wanting to find out about the success of the TRC?

Remembering the struggle against apartheid: Memorials

Unlike some countries, such as Russia after the fall of the Soviet Union, in South Africa monuments to events and figures from the past that were now out of favour were not destroyed after 1994, although some were removed from public view. Monuments such as the Voortrekker Monument, built by Afrikaner nationalists in the 1930s to commemorate the Great Trek and Boer victory over the Zulu, were retained. Statues to colonial leaders, such as Cecil Rhodes, remained. This was all part of the reconciliatory nature of the 1994 settlement and an acceptance and promotion of our diverse population and history.

However, it was important to redress the balance with new monuments that would enable people to remember the struggle against apartheid. A number of such monuments were built in the years after

1994. For example, a statue to Steve Biko was erected in East London and there was a new monument in Cape Town with statues of the four South African Nobel Peace Prize winners – Albert Luthuli, Desmond Tutu, F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. New museums were opened, such as the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg.

A statue of the Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko, was unveiled by Mandela in East London in 1997.

Informal research task (pairs)

Find out about one of the heritage sites mentioned above or visit a heritage site in your area that has been created since 1994. What version of our history does it reinforce and do you think that it promotes reconciliation and democratic values or is it promoting one political perspective? (Do you think it should be altered or amended in some way? If so, how?)

A national monument at Freedom Park

In 2005 work began on a new national monument known as Freedom Park. It was built at Salvokop near Pretoria (Tshwane), opposite the Voortrekker Monument.

Source I An extract from the *Freedom Park Trust Fact Sheet*, 2005, *outlines the aims of the Freedom Park national monument to promote nation-building and reconciliation*

The primary objective of the Freedom Park Trust is the creation of a national monument to South Africa's heritage, a monument that will provide an opportunity to explore issues such as nationhood and national values, which are significant for the present as well as the future. Freedom Park forms an integral part of the processes of nation-building and reconciliation. Prominent features of the Freedom Park such as Isivivane, (the final resting place of the spirits of those who died in the struggle for freedom), will remind the nation of the sacrifices made for freedom, and inspire hope and commitment to the country.

This extensive memorial at Freedom Park in Pretoria was built to commemorate those who died in various struggles for freedom in South Africa. Building started in 2005.

A key feature of Freedom Park is the Wall of Names.

Source J *This extract from the Freedom Park website describes the Wall of Names and its role in national identity formation.*

The Wall of Names is an awe-inspiring structure (697m in length), inscribed with the names of those who died during eight conflicts within South Africa's history: Pre-Colonial Wars, Slavery, Genocide, Wars of Resistance, the South African War, the First World War, the Second World War and the Struggle for Liberation.

The physical wall can accommodate 120 000 names. To date, 75 000 names have been verified for inscription. The design also allows for future generations to memorialise their heroes and heroines. More names, with additional information, such as biographical data and pictures, will be available on a virtual wall (names database) accessible via touch screen terminals.

By inscribing the names of those who died for our freedom on the Wall of Names and in the names database, the nation will not only remember, but also honour these brave individuals for their sacrifice.

The aim of the monument was to commemorate a new South African history, one of struggle for freedom

over the centuries. The inclusion of the specified conflicts (such as the South African War and the two World Wars) ensured that white South Africans would be included in Freedom Park alongside Africans who died in struggles of the pre-colonial period and those against colonialism and apartheid.

However, there was some controversy over who would be included and who excluded from the Wall of Names. Those who fought in the South African Defence Force on behalf of the apartheid government were not included, as they were not thought to have fought for freedom. The past was being defined through this monument in a particular way.

This is the Gugulethu Seven Monument. It was opened in 2005 and commemorates the lives of seven young people who were killed by police in 1986.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Use the text and Sources I and J to analyse what national identity the Freedom Park national monument hopes to reinforce. Comment on how this is done.

Local monuments

Other monuments were erected to commemorate events in the struggle against apartheid that took place in particular localities. For example, the Hector Pieterson memorial and museum were built in Soweto to commemorate the Soweto uprising of 1976. A memorial to the Cradock Four was built in Cradock and a striking monument to the Gugulethu Seven, seven Umkhonto we Sizwe activists who were shot by security police in 1986, was built in Gugulethu in Cape Town.

The Thokoza memorial

An interesting example of a local monument designed to bring about reconciliation is in Thokoza township on the East Rand. Thokoza was at the centre of violence on the Rand in the late 1980s and early 1990s between hostel dwellers and township residents, each respectively backed by the IFP and ANC. Over 600 people lost their lives and thousands of others were driven from their homes. Mistrust and tensions were therefore high in Thokoza after 1994.

However, in an attempt to bring about peace, the residents of Thokoza decided to build a public memorial which included a 'roll of honour' of the names of all those who had died in the township violence. It was funded by donations from local businesses and government and was unveiled in 1999 jointly by Thabo Mbeki, the ANC President of South Africa and Mangosutu Buthelezi, the leader of the IFP. It

was built on Khumalo Street, the boundary at the time of the conflicts between the hostel dwellers and the township residents. The memorial was thus an example of collective effort and a conscious attempt to bring together previous enemies in the area in a common remembrance of their loss.

Source K *An extract from the speech given by Thabo Mbeki at the unveiling of the Thokoza memorial, 16 October 1999. He points out how in a democratic South Africa, people should not be ethnically or racially divided as they had been under apartheid laws. (Cited in Annie Coombes*, Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa, *Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2004, page 181)*

> We are all Africans … We must agree that we will never again allow the apartheid ideology of separate mentalities to play its sinister part in fuelling animosity, hatred and violence amongst our people.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Use the text and Source K as a basis for this discussion. Is the memorial in Thokoza an over-simplification of our past or is it important because it is an effective example of heritage promoting reconciliation?

These new monuments were added to the earlier statues and monuments that existed in South Africa. The aim was to promote reconciliation and acceptance of diverse histories, so that nobody could feel their heritage was neglected. This was the product of South Africa's new-found democracy.

Assessment

Essay question on the negotiation period 1990 – 1994 (Unit 5.1)

'The National Party was trying to hold on to power and control, while at the same time it was negotiating with the ANC.' Discuss the extent to which this is an accurate assessment of the actions of the National Party during the period 1990 to 1994.

Your essay should be about 800–900 words. **[50]**

This can be used as part of the formal assessment for Term 3

Your essay will be assessed according to the rubric after Topic 6.

IN THE LATE 1980s momentous changes occurred that fundamentally changed the world from that which existed in the 1960s. The Cold War came to an end, caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union. Attempts by the new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, to bring about internal market reforms in the USSR led to the destruction of the Soviet communist system. Popular revolts against communism took place in Eastern Europe, starting in Poland in the early 1980s. In 1989 the Berlin Wall, the key symbol of the Cold War, was brought down and East and West Germany were subsequently reunited as one country. It was in this context that democratic change occurred in South Africa. On the one hand the apartheid government could no longer rely on its role as an anti-Soviet power supported by the West, and on the other the ANC had lost a major source of military and financial support.

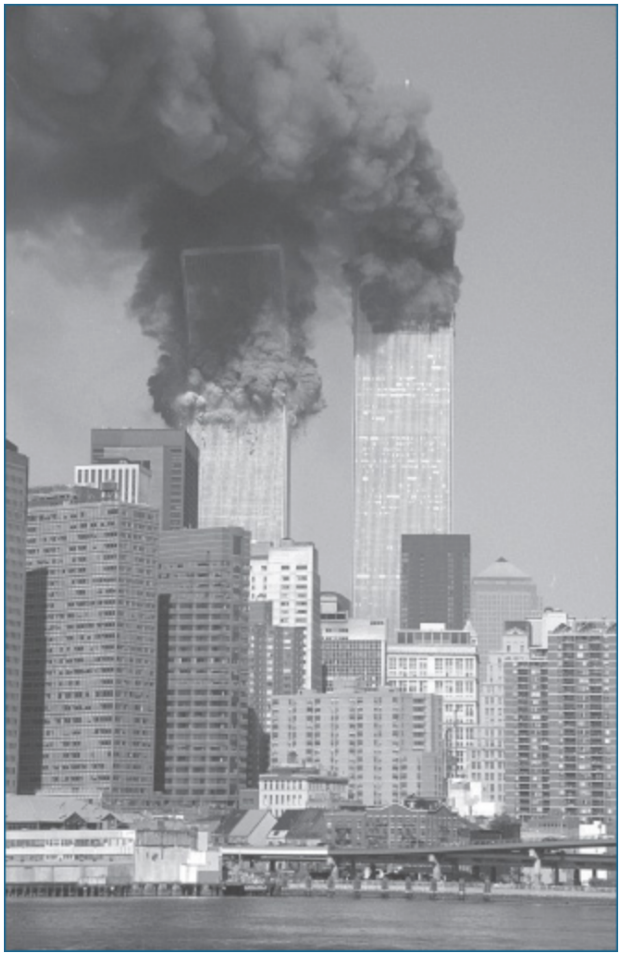
The end of the Cold War led to a new world order, dominated by Western capitalism and led by the USA. Capitalist global economic institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation came to control the economies of countries throughout the world, but their policies caused disruption and unemployment and failed to overcome the problems of poverty and unequal income distribution in places such as Africa and Latin America.

However, several forces challenged the control of global capitalism. Leading economies outside the West, such as China, India and Brazil, developed forms of capitalism which aimed to be less dependent on the USA and the West. Protests against the impact of capitalist reforms took place in many countries. These protests included civil protests in the West, as well as environmental protests and local nationalist and religious **fundamentalist** movements. The suicide air attacks on the USA in September 2001 and the subsequent 'war on terror' fought by the USA in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere indicated that the new century was characterised by new kinds of global conflicts.

New word

fundamentalist
someone who stridently believes in the teachings of a certain religion

In South Africa the end of the Cold War brought about hope with the collapse of apartheid, the introduction of democracy and the end of the civil war of the 1980s. However, the new government faced massive problems inherited from its past, such as poverty, inequality and a largely unskilled work force. Global capitalism exposed South Africa to competition from other economies that were better able to adapt to the new context.



This photograph shows the smoke from the fire that raged after two planes crashed into the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September 2001. There were many interpretations of the reason why the World Trade Centre was selected for destruction, but its function as a key landmark of the US economy was certainly crucial.

Timeline for Topic 6

1944	World Bank and International Monetary Fund established	
1979	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	
1980	Formation of Solidarity in Poland	
1981	Solidarity banned	
1985	Gorbachev becomes leader of the USSR and introduces policies to reform the communist system	
1989	Last Soviet troops leave Afghanistan	
	March	Gorbachev warns satellite governments not to expect Soviet aid
	May	Hungarian government starts dismantling Iron Curtain
	June	Free elections in Poland won by Solidarity
	Aug	FW de Klerk becomes leader of NP and president of SA
	Nov	Berlin Wall comes down
	Dec	US and Soviet leaders agree that Cold War is over
1990	Feb	De Klerk unbans liberation movements and announces start of major reforms in SA
	Aug	Attempted **coup** to overthrow Gorbachev in Moscow
1991	Dec	Collapse of the Soviet Union
1995	World Trade Organisation established	
1999	Anti-globalisation protests at WTO meeting in Seattle	
2001	Sept	Al Qaeda attack on World Trade Centre in New York
2009	Brazil, Russia, India and China form BRIC	
2011	South Africa joins BRIC to form BRICS	

Key word

coup
armed uprising against the government

Timeline tasks

1 For how long was the USSR involved in a war in Afghanistan?
2 In which two European countries did changes first happen in 1989?
3 How long after the fall of the Berlin Wall did the process of change start in South Africa?
4 What evidence is there on this timeline that the WTO is linked to globalisation?

The Cold War had started in 1945 and for more than 40 years the two superpowers – the Soviet Union (or USSR, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics set up in 1922) and the USA – competed for global dominance. By the 1980s, however, the Soviet Union was facing serious economic problems. In 1985 a new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, introduced reforms to solve these problems. But Gorbachev's reforms had unintended results:

- In 1989 the people of Eastern Europe used the opportunity to overthrow their communist governments and end Soviet control.
- The changes in the Soviet Union led to the end of the Cold War.
- The reform process started by Gorbachev gathered **momentum** beyond his control. By the end of 1991 he was out of office, and the Soviet Union had collapsed. But there were other factors, apart from Gorbachev's reforms, that contributed to this collapse.
- The collapse of the Soviet Union also affected South Africa. It was one of the factors which led to a negotiated settlement and the transition to democracy.

New word

momentum
energy; force; drive

Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union

The situation in the USSR in 1985

When Mikhail Gorbachev became leader in 1985, the Soviet Union was facing a crisis. Its resources were being drained by the Cold War arms race, and relations with the West were strained. The Soviet economy was failing: agricultural production was poor, and people were openly talking of economic collapse. They were demoralised by the shortages of essential **consumer goods**, inadequate housing, poor public health care, alcoholism, a failing economy, and a sense that the government could not find solutions. Those in power had many privileges, but showed little interest in improving the lives of ordinary citizens.

Another drain on the Soviet economy was an ongoing war in Afghanistan. In 1979 the USSR sent troops into Afghanistan to back a newly elected pro-Soviet government in the country. This new government was being challenged by *Mujaheddin*, anti-communist Islamic fighters (who were being supplied with weapons by the USA). The Soviet government wanted to defeat the *Mujaheddin* as it feared that Islamic **extremism** might influence the large Muslim population in the Central Asian regions of the Soviet Union. Despite superior weapons, the Soviet army was unable to crush the resistance. By 1985, over 20 000 Soviet troops had died in Afghanistan, and the war was becoming increasingly unpopular at home. Moreover, about a million Afghans had died, hundreds of thousands were refugees, and the economy had been destroyed. Soviet involvement in Afghanistan has been likened to America's involvement in Vietnam: it became a war that could not be won, and it continually drained the resources and **morale** of the USSR.

New words

consumer goods
goods such as clothing, furniture, household appliances

morale
spirit; self-esteem; confidence

Key word

extremism
radicalism

Gorbachev's reforms

Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party and head of state of the Soviet Union in 1985. He brought a new energy and drive to the Soviet leadership. He recognised that there were problems, and believed that major changes were needed. But at no stage did he intend to end the communist system or dismantle the USSR. He believed that change should be brought about by the Party itself.

Gorbachev decided to withdraw from Afghanistan and within four years all Soviet soldiers had left. He also felt there were two things necessary to bring about meaningful change in the Soviet Union. Firstly, he wanted to end the existing culture of silence and censorship, and secondly to restructure the economy. Gorbachev introduced two new policies: *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

Source A *For the first time people were encouraged to talk about their situation. Unlike previous leaders, Gorbachev encouraged criticism and personally went on to the streets to hear people's grievances, as shown in this photograph published in the Soviet press. As Gorbachev himself said: 'We are learning democracy and glasnost, learning to argue and conduct a debate, to tell one another the truth.'*

Glasnost

Glasnost meant 'openness'. This meant that people would be allowed to speak more freely and be able to

criticise the government. Up until this time, the Communist party controlled all art, literature, theatre, intellectual debate and media. Only forms of expression acceptable to the Party were permitted. Everything else was censored or banned. But under *Glasnost*, greater freedom of speech was encouraged. The government still controlled the press but newspapers and magazines could report openly, and question the government. Old versions of Soviet history were debated and stories of oppression and terror, particularly under Stalin's rule, started to emerge. Many political prisoners were also released.

Perestroika

Perestroika meant 'restructuring'. The aim was to rebuild the Soviet economy. By this Gorbachev meant reforming the communist system, not merely replacing it with capitalism. The main focus of the economic restructuring was to move from a completely state-controlled or centrally planned economy, to one where **market forces** could also operate. Private businesses were allowed to exist and they could make their own decisions about prices, production and marketing. They also had to finance themselves by obtaining loans from newly-created banks. Bankrupt state-owned businesses no longer received support from the state and were closed down. The state withdrew many of its **subsidies**, leading to more realistic pricing based on supply and demand. People could now start to buy and sell at a profit, and foreign investment was encouraged.

New words

market forces
the effects of supply and demand on the economy; supply, prices and distribution of goods is determined by demand from consumers

subsidies
money paid by the government to assist and support certain sectors in the economy

Source B *An extract from Mary McAuley*, Soviet Politics 1917–1991, *Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992, page 90, in which she discusses the rationale (thinking) behind Gorbachev's Perestroika and Glasnost policies which he introduced during the period 1986 and 1989. (Extract used by permission of Oxford University Press.)*

[Gorbachev's] policies [were] intended to produce major changes in the economic and political system. In the economy, the aim was to introduce elements of a market **mechanism**, and a variety of forms of ownership; in the political sphere, the vision was of a reformed Communist Party, still firmly in control, but a party whose officials both at central and local level would, to some degree, be accountable to elected bodies. Greater freedom of discussion, and scope for autonomous social groups would characterize a society in which party-state institutions no longer owned and managed all spheres of activity. There was never any doubt that the political unit would be the Soviet Union.

New word

mechanism
means; instrument used to achieve something

The impact of Gorbachev's reforms

Gorbachev's withdrawal from Afghanistan and his internal reforms were welcomed by Western leaders. In an interview with the BBC, the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, said, 'I like Mr Gorbachev, we can do business together.' His reforms ultimately led to the end of the Cold War. In order to restructure the economy, the Soviet Union had to reduce military spending, and stop the costly nuclear arms race. So Gorbachev initiated a number of meetings with the American president, Ronald Reagan, and they agreed to reduce nuclear arms.

Source C *From an article by Jack F. Matlock called 'Washington's View of Gorbachev's Perestroika, 1985–1991' written in July 2010. Matlock was the US ambassador to Moscow at this time. This part deals with Reagan's view in 1987 but the whole article traces the US reaction to Gorbachev from his promotion until his resignation. It can be found on* http://jackmatlock.-com/washingtons-view-ofgorbachevs-perestroika/.

> Reagan was impressed by Gorbachev's willingness to agree to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear missiles, and by the steps taken to open Soviet information media to informed debate and to foster more personal contact between Soviet citizens and persons in the West. While some of Reagan's advisors warned that Gorbachev wished to reform the Soviet Union only to make it stronger and better able to conduct its traditional foreign policy, Reagan understood that a democratic Soviet Union, even if stronger, would not be a threat to the United States or its neighbors, but would more likely be a partner for economic development and the preservation of peace. He, therefore, looked for signs that Gorbachev intended to use perestroika to make the Soviet Union more democratic.

However, Gorbachev's policies were less popular in the Soviet Union. The aim of *perestroika* was to promote economic growth and improve living standards, but it was not successful. Without state support and controls many systems collapsed. Prices and the cost of living increased dramatically, especially for food, housing and medical costs. Production remained low and there were shortages, resulting in long queues for basic goods. Inflation and foreign debt increased sharply. Life for the ordinary citizen had not improved under Gorbachev. As a result of these problems, he lost support. Because of *glasnost*, people could now openly criticize the government. The firm control which the Communist Party had held over the Soviet Union since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 was beginning to collapse. This also had a major effect in Eastern Europe.

Source D *A comment by Oleg Osipov, a research worker in Moscow in the 1990s. (Quoted in Anna Sproule*, Mikhail Gorbachev, *Exley, Watford, 1990, page 24)*

> We thought the situation could not get any worse, and it has. Now I hear people moaning about the lack of even the most basic food and saying, 'Things were better under Brezhnev, at least we had food in the shops then.'

Source E *A popular song of the late 1980s. Gorbachev was never as popular in the USSR as in the West. People blamed him for the economic hardships that they faced, and they did not like his campaign against alcoholism. (Quoted in M.J. Cohen and John Major*, History in Quotations, *Cassell, London, 2004, page 894)*

> Sausage prices twice as high. Where's the vodka for us to buy? All we do is sit at home Watching Gorby drone and drone.

Source F *This extract from* Russia – Unforeseen Results of Reform The Perestroika Program *(Mongabay.com) describes the impact of perestroika on the economy of the USSR. It was written in 1996 and can be found on* http://www.mongabay.com/history/russia/russia-unforeseen_results_of_ reform_the_perestroika_ program.html.

Russia – Unforeseen Results of Reform: The Perestroika Program

The Soviet economy went from stagnation to deterioration. At the end of 1991, the national economy was in a virtual tailspin. In 1991 the Soviet GDP had declined 17 percent and was declining at an accelerating rate. Overt inflation was becoming a major problem. Between 1990 and 1991, retail prices in the Soviet Union increased 140 percent.

Under these conditions, the general quality of life for Soviet consumers deteriorated. Consumers traditionally faced shortages of durable goods, but under Gorbachev, food, wearing apparel, and other basic necessities were in short supply. Fueled by the liberalised atmosphere of Gorbachev's glasnost and by the general improvement in information access in the late 1980s, public dissatisfaction with economic conditions was much more overt than ever before in the Soviet period. The foreign-trade sector of the Soviet economy also showed signs of deterioration. The total Soviet hard-currency debt increased appreciably, and the Soviet Union, which had established an impeccable record for debt repayment in earlier decades, had accumulated sizable arrears by 1990 …

Arguably, the shortcomings of the Gorbachev reforms had contributed to the economic decline … At the same time, the Gorbachev programs did start Russia on the precarious road to full-scale economic reform. Perestroika broke Soviet taboos against private ownership of some types of business, foreign investment in the Soviet Union, foreign trade, and decentralized economic decision making, all of which made it virtually impossible for later policy makers to turn back the clock.

Activity 1: (pairs) Explore Gorbachev's reforms

Use the text for questions 1 and 2.

1 Identify the factors which made it clear that the communist economy in the USSR was failing by 1985. (6×1) (6)

2 a) Explain how the war in Afghanistan affected the USSR. (2×1) (2)
b) Explain what Gorbachev decided to do about it. (2×1) (2)

3 a) Use the text and sources A and B to explain what the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* involved. (2×4) (8)
b) Explain why these policies were needed. (4×1) (4)

4 Use the text and Source C to explain why Gorbachev's policies were welcomed by Western leaders. (4×1) (4)

5 Use Sources D, E and F to explain why there was criticism of *perestroika* within the Soviet Union. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 5.

Eastern Europe

After the Second World War, most of Eastern Europe (the Eastern Bloc as it was sometimes called) had come under Soviet domination. For more than four decades, Soviet control of the Eastern European **satellite states** was absolute. After the Warsaw Pact was formed in 1955, the Soviet Union used troops from Warsaw Pact countries, as well as its own army, to crush any attempts at reform in the satellite

states.

Key word

satellite states
the communist states of Eastern Europe that were under Soviet domination

By the 1980s, people in the Eastern European satellite states wanted change after over 40 years of communist rule and Soviet domination. This led to growing and sustained protests which were inspired by events in Poland and by changes within the Soviet Union itself.

Events in Poland – the significance of Solidarity

The first protests in Eastern Europe in the 1980s took place in Poland. Although the communist governments in Eastern Europe had tried to crush the Christian churches, the Roman Catholic Church in Poland remained strong. Almost all Poles were Catholic, and the head of the Roman Catholic Church at the time, Pope John Paul II, was Polish. The Pope was an outspoken critic of communism in Poland. In 1979 he made an influential home visit that inspired Polish Catholics to demand greater freedom.

By 1980 Poland was also affected by economic problems, and workers were faced with rising prices on the one hand, and a declining standard of living on the other. In August 1980 workers in the Gdansk shipyards (one of Poland's most important industries) formed an independent trade union, Solidarity. The leader of Solidarity, Lech Walesa (who was an electrician in the shipyards), put forward a list of 21 demands to the Polish government. These included the rights to form **free trade** unions and to strike, an end to censorship and the right to broadcast Catholic Church services.

Key word

free trade
trade with no restrictions (such as tariffs)

When the Polish government agreed to all of Solidarity's demands, support for the trade union increased, from 3 million to over 9 million in just four months. This was about one-third of all the workers in Poland. Although Solidarity was a trade union and not a political party, many members began to view it as an alternative to the communist government. While the Polish government felt threatened by the trade union, it did not act immediately.

The Soviet Union, however, was concerned about developments in Poland. In its view, Solidarity formed a direct threat to Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. It was not prepared to allow an independent trade union to challenge the communist government in power in Poland. Finally, in December 1981, the USSR acted. The Soviet army carried out 'training exercises' on Poland's border, while the Polish government introduced **martial law.** Solidarity was banned, and 10 000 leaders, including Walesa, were imprisoned. Once again, the Soviet Union had shown that, at this stage, it was not prepared to accept any challenge to its control.

Key word

martial law
when the government grants the army additional powers to maintain law and order

Photograph of Lech Walesa and the Solidarity banner

The significance of events in Poland for the decline of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe

Although Solidarity had been banned, it continued to exert an influence and from 1986 began to operate openly again. It co-operated closely with the Catholic Church, and broadcast its views on Radio Solidarity, criticising actions of the government and urging a boycott of elections in 1988. People in neighbouring countries watched with interest to see how the Soviet Union would react to this open **defiance** of communist domination.

New word

defiance
disobedience; non-cooperation

People in the Eastern European satellite states had also been given new hope by Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union. They wanted *glasnost* as well. The serious economic problems in the Soviet Union meant that the military was no longer able to intervene to uphold Soviet control over the satellite states. In March 1989 Gorbachev told the leaders of the unpopular Eastern European communist governments that they could no longer depend on the Red Army to keep them in power. They would have to listen to the demands of their own people. This change in Soviet policy led to dramatic changes later that year.

Protests and change in Eastern Europe

During 1989 people all over Eastern Europe took part in massive demonstrations demanding change. Their actions were effective in bringing an end to communist rule. The changes started in Hungary and

Poland. In May 1989 the Hungarian government quickly realised the need for reform. It started dismantling the Iron Curtain, separating Hungary from non-communist Austria. The Communist Party renamed itself the Socialist Party and announced that freedom of speech and of movement would be allowed, and democratic elections would be held.

In June 1989, in response to demands from the Polish people, the government agreed to hold free elections, the first since the Second World War. The previously banned Solidarity Party won nearly all the seats, and Lech Walesa became the first non-communist leader in Eastern Europe.

Source G *The Polish writer D. Pietrusza describes what it was like to live under communism in Poland. (From D. Pietrusza*, The End of the Cold War, *Lucent Books, San Diego, 1995, page 11)*

Under communism, living standards lagged far behind those in the capitalist West. Goods and services were in short supply. Housing was scarce and poorly built. Medical care was free but inadequate. Pollution poisoned the earth. The peoples of Eastern Europe wanted a complete change in how they were governed.

Source H *The Western writer D. Taylor describes Poland during the communist period. (From D. Taylor*, The Cold War, *Heinemann, Chicago, 2002, page 40)*

People were tired of communism: it had failed to bring them a comfortable standard of living, and did not allow basic human rights. They looked with envy at the wealth and freedoms of the democratic countries in the West.

Source I *The British journalist and political analyst Timothy Garton Ash describes why popular protest emerged in Eastern Europe in 1989. (From Timothy Garton Ash*, We the People, *Granta Books, Cambridge, 1990, page 135)*

A revolution is born as much of hopes as of discontents? Yes, the economic 'discontents' were there, overwhelmingly in Poland and Romania, persistently, though less dramatically, elsewhere … But, unlike in Poland in August 1980, it was not a turn of the economic screw that precipitated mass popular protest in any east European country in 1989. It was political hopes – and outrage at the repression with which the local regimes attempted to curb those hopes.

Activity 2: (individual) Analyse the collapse of communist regimes in Poland and Eastern Europe

Use the text to answer questions 1 to 5.

1 a) Explain why the resistance started in Poland. (3×1) (3)
b) Explain how the demands of the Gdansk workers showed that they were oppressed. (3×1) (3)
2 a) Explain why the Soviet Union became involved in crushing the resistance led by Solidarity in Poland. (3×1) (3)
b) Explain what form this repression took. (2×1) (2)
3 Clarify why Gorbachev's reforms in the USSR gave the people in the satellite states hope that they could bring about change in their own countries. (3×1) (3)
4 Explain why the governments of Hungary and Poland changed their policies in 1989. (2×2) (4)
5 Imagine you were a leader of a satellite state. What would you have thought of the new policies being carried out in the Soviet Union?
6 Read Sources G, H and I. Compare the reasons that they give(3×1) (3) about why people in Eastern Europe wanted change. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 6.

Protests spread to Germany: the fall of the Berlin Wall

After the reforms in Hungary, the border between Austria and Hungary was opened to allow freedom of travel. In 1989 thousands of East Germans used this opportunity and travelled first through Hungary, then through Austria to escape into West Germany. The mass exodus of 50 000 people within three weeks shocked the East German government. When it responded by closing the border, enormous demonstrations were held in the cities of East Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig. Protesters called for an end to communist rule.

In October 1989 Gorbachev visited East Germany and warned the East German government that it could not expect Soviet help to crush demands for reform. The government's control over the country collapsed when troops refused to obey orders to shoot the demonstrators.

In November 1989 thousands of people in East Berlin marched to the Berlin Wall. When East German guards refused to fire on the crowd, people started chipping away at the wall by hand. Afterwards bulldozers were brought in to dismantle it completely. The Wall, which had divided Berlin for 28 years and which had become a symbol of the Cold War, no longer existed. The following year the people of East and West Germany voted overwhelmingly for the two countries to be reunited.

The fall of the Berlin Wall, the symbol of communist domination of Eastern Europe, inspired people in the remaining satellites. In Czechoslovakia daily protests were held in support of political reform. As a result, the government opened up its borders with the West and agreed to democratic reforms. Within a month, the Czechoslovakian government was replaced by a newly elected democratic government. These events in Czechoslovakia are called the 'Velvet Revolution' because they took place smoothly (like velvet) and without violence or many casualties. In Bulgaria the communist dictator, who had ruled for 35 years, was overthrown and put on trial for corruption. In Romania, which had the most authoritarian regime as well as the lowest standard of living in Eastern Europe, the autocratic dictator, Ceausescu, was overthrown and shot in a short and violent revolution. The leaders of the coup formed a **provisional** government, abolished the communist system and announced that free elections would be held in 1990.

New word

provisional
temporary

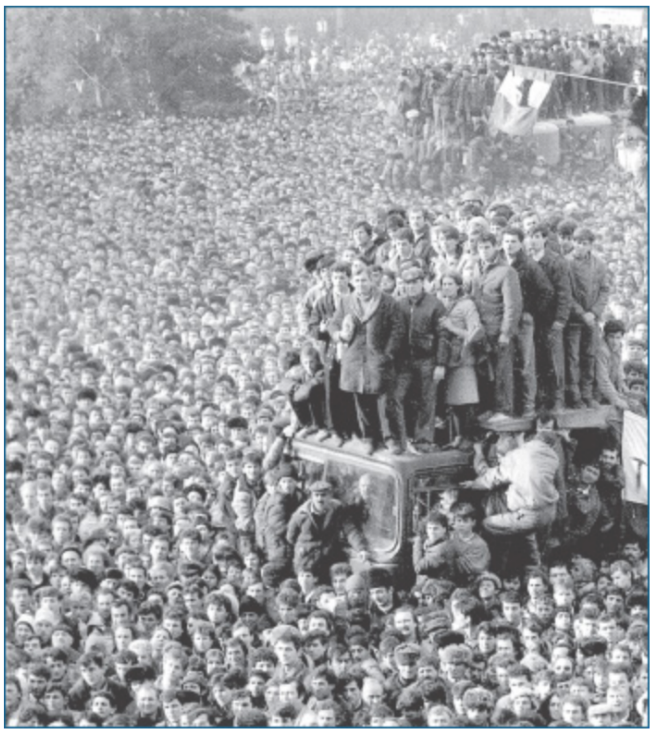
In November 1989, residents of Berlin climbed on top of the Berlin Wall. The destruction of the Wall symbolised the end of the Cold War.

Source J *An extract from Victor Havel's, New Year address, 1990. Havel was the new leader of Czechoslovakia. He notes how remarkable it was that people were now speaking openly about their views. Previously people had lived double lives: saying one thing in public and another in private. (Quoted in Timothy Garton Ash*, We the People, *Granta Books, page 137–8)*

We are all morally sick, because we got used to saying one thing and thinking another … All of us have become accustomed to the totalitarian system, accepted it as an unalterable fact and therefore kept it running … None of us is merely a victim of it, because all of us helped to create it together.

Source K *From Timothy Garton Ash*, We the People, *Granta Books, page 90. He comments on the creative energy in the Prague uprising.*

It was not just the sense of the great masses on Wenceslas Square. It was the improvised posters all over the city, the strike committees in the factories, the Civic Forum committees that were founded in hospitals, schools and offices. It was the theatres packed every evening for debates with the guest speakers on stage: a Forum spokesman or perhaps an exiled writer, back for the first time in years. It was the crowds standing in front of the television sets in shop or office windows at all hours of the day and night watching the Videojounál tape of the events of 17 November, played over and over again. It was the ordinary people on the streets. As you walked down the old town you overheard snippets of excited conversation: 'Free elections!', 'Human face!' … At six o'clock in the morning … you saw … people waiting patiently to buy a copy of the Socialist Party newspaper, Svobodné Slovo (The Free World), which was the first to carry accurate accounts of the demonstrations and Forum statements. Queueing for the free word.



This huge crowd gathered outside the Communist Party Central Committee building in Bucharest, Romania, December 1989. Previously crowds were forced to cheer Ceausescu, the communist dictator, but at this gathering, they booed him. Previously they would never have dared to do this. Ceausescu and his wife tried to escape by helicopter, but they were captured and executed immediately.

Source L *Some Romanians believed that the hasty killing of Ceausescu did not allow them to work through the issues surrounding his dictatorship. This comment is quoted in John Simpson*, Despatches from the Barricades, *Hutchinson, London, 1990, page 253.*

We Romanians will always suffer as a result of Ceausescu. He made everyone afraid of everyone else, and he made it impossible for any of us to take our own decisions, to think or act for ourselves. Ceausescu is inside every one of us, and we haven't killed him yet. If we had given him a proper trial, we might have dealt with him. Now we can't. That is his revenge on all of us.

In less than a year communist dictatorships were replaced by democratically elected governments, the Iron Curtain **disintegrated** and the Berlin Wall was **dismantled**, and the Warsaw Pact had ceased to exist. Soviet control of Eastern Europe had come to an end. Relations between the Soviet Union and the USA continued to improve during the eventful days of 1989, as the communist regimes were overthrown in Eastern Europe. At a summit meeting between Gorbachev and the new American president, George Bush (senior), in December 1989, the two leaders agreed that the Cold War was over.

New word
disintegrated fell apart
dismantled broken up

Activity 3: (groups) Analyse the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe

Use the text to answer questions 1 to 4.

1 Identify the key reason why the East German government lost control in October 1989. (2×1) (2)

2 Explain how the changes in Hungary affected East Germany. (4×1) (4)

3 Analyse why the destruction of the Berlin Wall is such a significant event. (3×2) (6)

4 a) Construct a news broadcast for television in which you interview people about the events that occurred in Germany in 1989.

b) Make sure you cover the key developments in the correct order and get various opinions about the changes happening.

c) Present your interview to the class. (N/A)

5 Extract information from Sources J and L to analyse the kind of psychological issues the people in Eastern Europe had to process once they were liberated. (10)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 5.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Use the text, Source K and the photographs and their captions to assess to what extent 'People Power' was responsible for change in Eastern Europe.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union was made up of 15 different states or republics, which contained 100 different nationalities. The Russian Republic, centered on Moscow, was the dominant power in this union. However, about half the total population consisted of minority groups that had been **annexed** by Russia over the years, such as Ukrainians, Latvians and Estonians. Many of these groups resented Russian domination. The reforms introduced by Gorbachev gave them the opportunity to challenge this domination, and in 1991

the Soviet Union disintegrated and the various republics of the former USSR became independent states.

New word
annex to take possession of, extend control over an area

Source M *John Simpson discusses why the Soviet Union could not remain united, in his book* Despatches from the Barricades, *Hutchinson, London, page 12.*

All empires come to an end … The old will to power, the old self-belief, the ability to force people to make the sacrifices that are necessary to keep an empire going, all start to fade. The burden of empire becomes harder to bear; the overstretching begins to hurt … This is what happened in the Soviet Empire in Europe. Moscow tried to ease the burden and it slipped.

The impact of Gorbachev's reforms

Gorbachev believed that the Communist Party could control the pace of change but this proved to be wrong. The openness that *glasnost* encouraged led to overwhelming criticism. Although Gorbachev had set in motion a course of action, his moderate reform programme was taken over and pushed much further.

Source N *An extract from Peter Mantin and Colin Lankester*, From Romanov to Gorbachev, *Hutchinson, London, 1989, pages 84–85. They explain that once Gorbachev had opened up the possibility of change, he could not control its momentum or extent.*

Gorbachev felt that the Soviet Union needed more democracy. People needed more of a say in the running of the economy and even of the government. This was no easy idea to accept in a country in which there was only one political party, and thousands of officials who had every interest in keeping things as they had always been.

There is an old saying: 'The most dangerous time for a government is when it starts to reform.' Mikhail Gorbachev started to reform the Soviet system, but he had some powerful opponents from the old system. He knew that by the year 2000 Muslims will make up one quarter of the population of the Soviet Union. There were riots in provinces as far apart as Latvia in the Baltic and Armenia, near Turkey. Several religious groups demanded more freedom. Opponents of the government pressed for equality and freedom.

Gorbachev was caught between the conservatives (who wanted to return to old ways), and the reformers (who called for more far-reaching changes). It was impossible for him to meet these conflicting demands:

- On the one hand, officials in the Communist Party **bureaucracy** resisted the changes. They wanted a return to full state control. Others who opposed his reforms said that Gorbachev was betraying the communist vision and allowing Western capitalism to influence him too much.
- Critics on the other side, like Boris Yeltsin (the leader of the Russian Republic within the USSR) said that Gorbachev's reforms did not go far enough. Yeltsin and others called for full democracy; that is the end of Communist Party rule to allow other political parties to compete for power. He also believed that the USSR should be dissolved. Yeltsin became a people's hero with his bold criticism of the Communist Party, its corruption and special privileges.

New word

bureaucracy
administration; civil servants; officials

The impact of nationalism

As the internal divisions increasingly weakened the Soviet Union, the different nationalities that made up the Soviet Union called for more **autonomy**. They did not like the way their own culture and language had been undermined and replaced with Russian. They also resented the fact that Russians held many of the top positions, and that most decisions were taken in Moscow. These feelings of nationalism were especially strong in the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. As the national minorities started to claim their independence, the unity of the Soviet Union came under threat. Gorbachev wanted to preserve the unity of the Soviet Union and so he sent Soviet troops to stop the independence movements in Georgia, Azerbaijan and Lithuania. But these popular movements had too much support and resistance continued. In March 1990 Latvia declared its independence from the Soviet Union. The other Baltic republics, Estonia and Lithuania, followed soon afterwards. This was the start of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Key word

autonomy
independence; the right to self-rule

Nationalist feeling was very strong in the Baltic republics. They wanted full independence from the USSR. This photograph shows people in the three Baltic republics making an unbroken human chain stretching right across Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to protest against Soviet control.

Source O *In this extract Hendrick Smith explains how Gorbachev underestimated the power of regional nationalism within the Soviet Union. From Hendrick Smith*, The New Russians, *Hutchinson, London, 1990, page 296. The Gorbachev quotation included here comes from his speech to the Russian Communist Party Congress, published in* Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *19 June 1990, page 90.*

> [Gorbachev] did not grasp how deeply felt and powerful were the nationalist feelings and protests, until it was too late. Sometimes he did not differentiate between peaceful and popular political change, and ethnic violence, often taking nationalism as a challenge to his power.
>
> 'As a matter of self-criticism,' he said finally, after five years in power, 'one has to admit that we underestimated the forces of nationalism and separatism that were hidden deep within our system … creating a society explosive in mixture.'

The coup against Gorbachev and the break-up of the Soviet Union

By 1991 Gorbachev's position was increasingly under threat. Although he was still leader of the Soviet Union, he no longer had control over the situation. More and more people turned to Boris Yeltsin, who believed that the USSR could not be saved but would have to be dissolved.

Realising how weak the central government was, other republics within the Soviet Union (such as Ukraine and Georgia) declared their independence. The USSR was disintegrating. In August 1991 conservatives in the government and leading military officers staged a coup in Moscow in an attempt to take over the USSR before it collapsed completely. They arrested Gorbachev while he was on holiday in the Crimea. The coup failed when huge crowds, who were opposed to the coup, gathered in Moscow. Yeltsin emerged as the leader of the protests. He climbed onto one of the tanks and appealed to the soldiers to **mutiny**, to the workers to oppose the coup, and for Gorbachev to be reinstated. Although Gorbachev was restored to his position, it was clear that Yeltsin was the leader whom people supported.

Key word

mutiny
a rebellion in the armed forces; a refusal to obey orders

The failed coup ended Gorbachev's dream of reviving the USSR. In December 1991 Yeltsin and the leaders of other republics announced that the USSR had been replaced by a **Commonwealth** of Independent States. Gorbachev formally resigned, and the Soviet flag was lowered for the last time. The Soviet Union had disappeared.

New word

Commonwealth
a group of independent states that are freely linked together

In 1991 the former republics of the Soviet Union broke away and each gained independence. This map shows their territorial boundaries. They joined in a loose confederation called the Commonwealth of Independent States.

To what extent were Gorbachev's reforms responsible for the collapse of the USSR?

Historians have debated the underlying reasons for the sudden collapse of the once mighty Soviet superpower. Gorbachev's reforms were certainly one of the factors which led to this collapse. His attempt to solve serious economic problems led to the breakdown of a state-controlled economy and did not bring the economic growth that people expected. They became impatient for more fundamental changes. However, historians suggest that that there were other forces too that contributed to the disintegration of the Soviet Union:

- The power of the Soviet government rested on harsh authoritarian control. Once people began to question this control, they were no longer prepared to accept it.
- The growth of nationalism and demands for independence in the different republics undermined the unity of the Soviet Union from within.
- Popular protest ensured support for the independence movements in the different republics in the USSR. It was 'people power' too that played an important role in defeating the attempted coup against

Gorbachev in Moscow.

The collapse of the USSR had a major impact on world history at the end of the 20th century. The Cold War came to an end in a way which no-one had foreseen. This was by the internal collapse of one of the two competing powers – the US and the USSR – rather than by armed or nuclear conflict between these two powers. A new global political situation emerged. The US was now the most powerful state and it seemed as if the Western capitalist and liberal democratic system had triumphed. As you will see in Unit 6.2, this was not the case and new forces were to emerge to challenge the domination of the Western system.

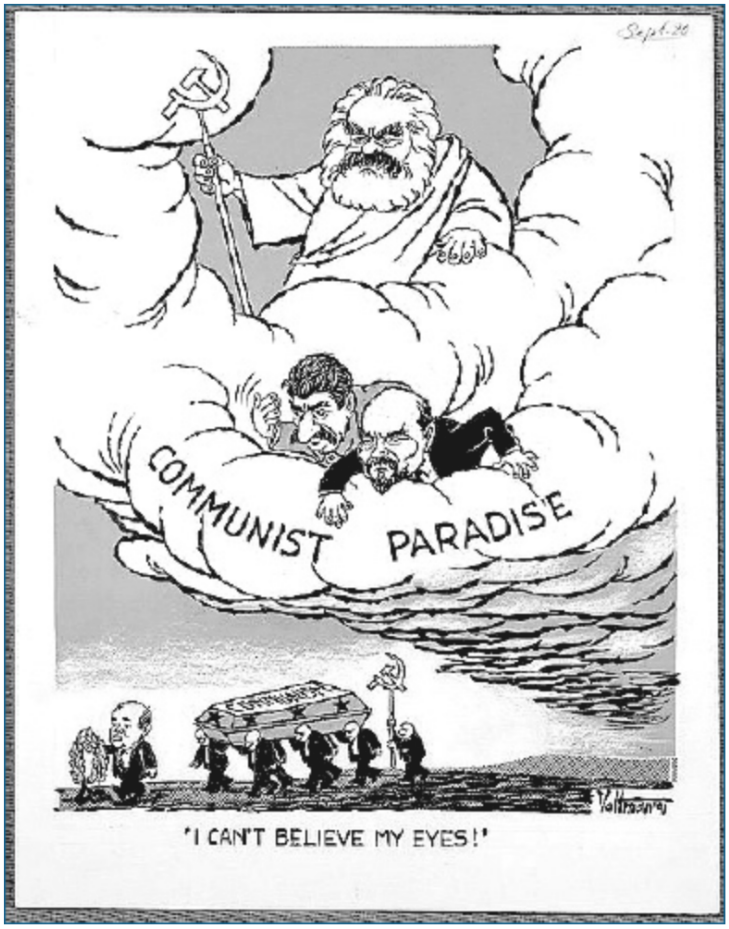
Source P *An extract from the US newspaper* The Wall Street Journal, *explaining why Gorbachev had fallen from power.*

> Gorbachev was the best thing the Communist Party had to offer. He played the central role in a remarkable chapter of world history but was forced in the end to go, because in the historical play there was no longer any room for a man who still wanted to be a communist.

Source Q *In 1990 Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This source explains why his achievements were so remarkable. (From Hendrick Smith*, The New Russians, *Hutchinson, London, 1990, page 573–4)*

> History is full of men on horseback trampling fragile democracies underfoot. But there is no precedent for a single leader attempting the peaceful transition from a dictatorship to democracy.

Source R *This cartoon was drawn by Edmund Valtman in September 1990. The cartoonist, Valtman, was born in Estonia. He fled to Germany after the Soviet occupation in 1944, spent four years in a camp for displaced persons and then emigrated to the US. He was an award-winning cartoonist for the* Hartford Times *in the USA. Valtman died in 2005, aged 91. In this cartoon he shows Marx, Stalin and Lenin looking down from the clouds at the funeral of 'Communism'. Gorbachev is leading the funeral procession.*


COMMUNIST PARADISE
'I CAN'T BELIEVE MY EYES!'

Activity 4: (individual) Assess the causes of the collapse of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR)

Use the text to answer questions 1 to 4.

1 Why did many people in the USSR resent Russian domination within the USSR? (2×1) (2)

2 How did Yeltsin cleverly manipulate the events in Moscow to his own benefit? (Make sure you include the words 'coup' and 'mutiny' in your answer.) Your answer should be about 150 words. (8×1) (8)

3 Explain how nationalism in the Baltic region led to the start of the collapse of the Soviet Union. (4×1) (4)

4 a) Analyse how Gorbachev underestimated the impact of his reforms. (2×1) (2)
b) Explain the responses to these reforms from conservatives and liberals within the Communist Party itself. (2×2) (4)

5 Extract information from Sources M, N and O to explain the reasons for Gorbachev's fall from power and the disintegration of the USSR. (Your answer should be about 300 words.) (10)

6 a) Compare the assessments of Gorbachev given in Sources P and Q. (2×2) (4)
b) Is there any reason to be sceptical of, or to question, these analyses? Explain why you think so. (1×5) (5)

7 Study Source R and answer these questions:
a) Explain the imagery and symbolism used in this cartoon. (5×1) (5)
b) Who do you think says 'I can't believe my eyes!', and why? (4×1) (4)
c) Read the caption to Source R and explain why Valtman's cartoons are anti-communist. (4×1) (4)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 5.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Do you think he deserved the award?

A turning point in South Africa: the collapse of the Soviet Union and its impact on South Africa

This cartoon was published in Oggendblad *(a pro-National Party newspaper) in 1980. It shows the leaders of Angola (Dos Santos), Zimbabwe (Mugabe) and Mozambique (Machel) linking hands across Africa. The hammer and sickle of communism is included in each man's name. This cartoon reflects the National Party's fear that South Africa was being encircled by communist regimes.*

The policy of Western governments towards South Africa

During the Cold War, the policy of Western governments, especially the USA, was influenced by competition with the USSR for power and influence around the world. These Western governments wanted to ensure that the Soviet Union did not get control of vital mineral resources and strategic sea routes. Therefore, they were concerned when communist governments came to power in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique in 1975. During the 1980s, the last decade of the Cold War, the consequences of a Soviet presence in southern Africa were still feared. As a result it suited these Western governments to accept the 'total onslaught' propaganda of the apartheid government. This emphasised a perceived communist threat to the sub-continent and stressed South Africa's position as a vital pro-Western and anti-Soviet ally.

As a result, many Western governments supported South Africa despite pressure from the UN and the OAU, who called for economic sanctions. The two most influential Western leaders were Ronald Reagan (US president from 1980 to 1988) and Margaret Thatcher (British prime minister from 1979 to 1990). Both of them were strongly anti-communist and did not support the call for sanctions.

But in the late 1980s, as the Cold War was drawing to a close, attitudes began to change. South Africa (and indeed Africa as a whole) was no longer significant in Cold War politics. Western governments began to apply pressure on South Africa to end apartheid and start talks with the banned ANC.

Changing attitudes in South Africa

As the communist governments in Eastern Europe and then in the Soviet Union collapsed, South Africa could no longer use the threat of communism as a means of generating support. It could no longer rely on Western backing for this 'anti-communist' stance. At the same time, the National Party's fear of a communist-controlled ANC also diminished, as communism lost ground in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and for the first time it was prepared to negotiate with the ANC.

The collapse of the USSR also affected the ANC. The Soviet Union had supported the liberation move-

ments after they were forced to go into exile in the 1960s. For a while the ANC had received most of its financial and military aid from the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union therefore removed an important source of backing, with the result that the ANC was also ready to negotiate.

Cuito Cuanavale and its impact

Even before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the apartheid government had been forced to reassess its policies in southern Africa. The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in November 1987, when South African troops were held back by a combined force of Cubans and Angolans, was a turning point. (You learned about the battle in Unit 2.4). After this, the South African government was forced to reassess its military strength. It agreed to withdraw from Angola and to negotiate a settlement over Namibia. The peaceful transfer to majority rule in Namibia encouraged both the South African government and the ANC. The government saw that majority rule did not necessarily mean the introduction of communism or major economic changes. The ANC hoped that South Africa could now also become a democratic state in which it would obtain majority power.

De Klerk and the changes of 1989—90

The changing situation and the mounting pressures from mass protests in South Africa led to tensions within the National Party. This in turn led to a change of leadership in August 1989, after which the new president F.W. de Klerk decided to embark on a policy of reform. During 1989 several long-term political prisoners, including most of the Rivonia trialists, were released. In February 1990 De Klerk announced the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP, and the government's willingness to negotiate an end to apartheid and the establishment of a new and democratic constitution. (You learned about this in Unit 5.1)

The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe was a critical factor that led to change in South Africa. De Klerk's speech of 2 February 1990, which announced a fundamental change in policy, was made less than two months after the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, the event which symbolised to many people the end of the Cold War and the start of a new world order.

Source S *An extract from an article called 'The Collapse of the Communist-Anticommunist Condominium: The Repercussions for South Africa' written by Rob Nixon who is an English Professor at the University of Wisconsin, specialising in African literature and culture. Found on* http://www.english.wisc.edu/rdnixon/files/collapse.pdf

> On February 2, 1990, President De Klerk shifted the terms of the South African struggle with an inspired act of political opportunism that was also a mark of his embattlement: he unbanned the A.N.C., the South African Communist Party, the United Democratic Front and allied progressive organisations. In announcing these unforeseen measures, De Klerk was quite explicit: they had been largely occasioned by the upheavals in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Many Afrikaans nationalists railed against De Klerk's reforms as the suicide of apartheid, somewhat as Soviet Communist Party stalwarts charged Gorbachev with provoking communism's suicide. De Klerk saw things differently, arguing that his reforms were proportionate to the newly receding threat of Marxism. For, he contended, communism's demise and the disintegration of the Eastern bloc had weakened the anti-apartheid organisations by denying them invaluable sources of ideological, financial, and military sustenance.

Source T *This extract from Hermann Giliomee and Bernard Mbenga*, New History of South Africa, *Tafelberg, Cape Town, 2007, pages 394-5 discusses the impact on South Africa of the*

fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989.

The dismantling of the Berlin Wall, which began on 9 November 1989, dramatically heralded the end of the Soviet Union's sway over Eastern Europe, and also contributed to the breaking of the deadlock in South Africa. Communism as a political and economic system was rapidly beginning to disintegrate. These developments presented De Klerk with what he termed a 'God-sent opportunity'. The National Party could tell its constituency that without Soviet backing the ANC, with its ally the SA Communist Party, no longer constituted a major threat to stability and private ownership. He could also argue that communism was so discredited that the ANC would be compelled to accept the free market, property rights and other investment-friendly policies.

For the National Party government the fall of the Wall was a double-edged sword. Anti-communism had long been the main reason why Western governments accepted and even bolstered white rule in South Africa. But the disappearance of the communist threat and the ANC's retreat from nationalisation had made the South African government's anti-communism old-fashioned, and deprived it of its strongest argument for Western pressure to force the ANC to accept power-sharing …

Without the fall of the Wall, it is difficult to conceive of the ANC coming to power five years later.

Activity 5: (individual) Analyse the impact of the collapse of the Soviet Union on South Africa

1 Use the text to describe how the collapse of communism in the USSR affected:
   a) the West's support for the apartheid government (6×1) (6)
   b) the South African government's fear of the ANC (6×1) (6)
   c) the ANC's ability to sustain an armed struggle and promote a socialist future. (6×1) (6)
2 Extract information from Sources S and T to answer these questions:
   a) According to these sources, what was the connection between De Klerk's announcement of changes in February 1990 and the upheavals that had happened in the communist world? (10)
   b) Explain why the ANC agreed to negotiate with the NP government. (3×1) (3)
   c) Explain what is meant in Source T by 'the ANC's retreat from nationalisation' and why this was the case? (4×1) (4)
   d) Compare the sources to assess which is more useful for learning about disagreements within the NP to De Klerk's policy changes. Explain your view. (3×1) (3)
   e) Compare the sources to assess which is more useful for learning about the impact of the collapse of the USSR on the NP. Explain your answer. (5×1) (5)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 2(a).

THINK AND DISCUSS: In what ways were the situations facing De Klerk and Gorbachev similar and in what ways were they different? In what ways were the reforms and their outcomes started by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union and those started by De Klerk in South Africa similar?

Practice essays

Read the Skills Support information on 'How to identify different types of essay questions' and then practise by writing these essays.

1 Narrative

Explain why reform was necessary in the Soviet Union by the mid 1980s.

2 Discursive

'The collapse of the communist system was an important reason why De Klerk started the reform process in South Africa'. Write an essay in which you support this statement. (You may mention other contributing factors that you learnt about in Topic 5 but the emphasis here should be on the content covered in this unit.)

3 Argumentative

Evaluate to what extent Gorbachev's reforms were responsible for the collapse of the USSR.

Read the Skills Support information on 'How to check whether your essay covers all that is needed' on the next page. Once you have written one of the practice essays, get a friend to check your essay according to the chart.

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to identify different types of essay questions

There are three main types of essay questions that you could get in the examination:

- **Narrative** – This requires a detailed explanation of the events in chronological order. (See practice essay 1 as an example.)
- **Discursive** – This requires analysis of events; you need to develop an argument throughout. (See practice essay 2 as an example.)
- **Argumentative** – This requires weighing up the significance of events and issues. You need to develop a relevant analysis and an independent line of argument throughout. (See practice essay 3 as an example.)

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to check whether your essay covers all that is needed

Tick one of the columns on the right for each point	Yes	Sometimes	No
Introduction – it should be about 3–4 sentences			
• Does it address all the parts of the question and show the overall argument you will make?			
• Is it succinct and focused on what is required or does it include irrelevant background information?			
Body of the essay – it should structured in paragraphs and be about 800–900 words long			
• Does it identify and cover all the major issues?			
• In each paragraph is there sufficient accurate and relevant information to support the argument?			
• Does it develop clearly and logically from one idea to the next?			
• Does each paragraph relate directly to the question asked?			
Conclusion – it should be about 3 – 4 sentences			
• Does it synthesise (sum up) the main argument that you have developed throughout the essay and give it a convincing ending?			
General			
• Is your expression formal and accurate throughout?			
• Is your argument well structured, convincing, relevant and logical?			

During the Cold War, the two superpowers had maintained an uneasy balance in the world. But the collapse of the Soviet Union brought the Cold War to an end and created a new balance of power in the world. It left the remaining superpower, the USA, in a dominant position. People spoke about the start of a 'new world order'. They thought that this would be the end of tension and the fears of a nuclear war, but instead they found that the post-Cold War world was a more complicated and unpredictable place. Since the end of the Cold War there have been many regional and civil wars around the world.

There were economic changes too in the new world order. Since the 1990s, American capitalism has been the dominant international economic system and we are all part of a 'global economy'. This is referred to as globalisation.

Defining globalisation

Globalisation refers to the movement of people, information, investments, goods and services around the world. This process is not entirely new: there have been links between people in different parts of the world for centuries. But what was new in the last decades of the 20th century was the rate at which people and countries became increasingly interconnected – politically, economically, culturally as well as environmentally.

Multinational corporations have spread their influence throughout the globe. Behind these Chinese commuters is a huge advertisement of an American multinational company. Soccer is the most popular sport in the world and the leading players are used to market global brands. People all over the world recognise the players and the products being advertised.

Globalisation is used to explain changes and links in the world economy, in world politics, in international trade, in the environment, in violence and terrorism, in culture, and in social attitudes and customs. The following are key features of globalisation (although you will see that many of them overlap with each other):

- *Smaller distances:* The world seems to be a smaller place because of advances in technology – especially air travel. Distances are less important. Places are far more accessible now than they ever were before.

- *The availability of news and information:* News and information move around the world with increasing speed, because of developments such as the Internet and satellite television. We can watch developments in other continents and learn about new ideas as they happen.
- *The disappearance of borders:* Borders between countries are far less relevant than they were before. People, goods, technologies and ideas move more easily across boundaries that once divided regions and communities. This is partly due to fewer trade restrictions. It is also due to the formation of large political entities, such as the European Union.
- *Greater movement and migration of people:* Millions of people frequently move from country to country, or continent to continent. This may be as part of the international job market, as migrant workers, as refugees or as tourists.
- *The development of a global culture:* New technologies and greater migration has led to the development of a 'global culture', in which people share similar social and cultural values and ideas. This is especially true in cities, where architecture, fashion, shops, music and films are similar around the world.
- *The dominance of global* ***corporates****:* These are huge multinational companies which operate all over the world. The goods they make are called 'global brands'. The wealth of these multinationals has given them enormous economic and political power.

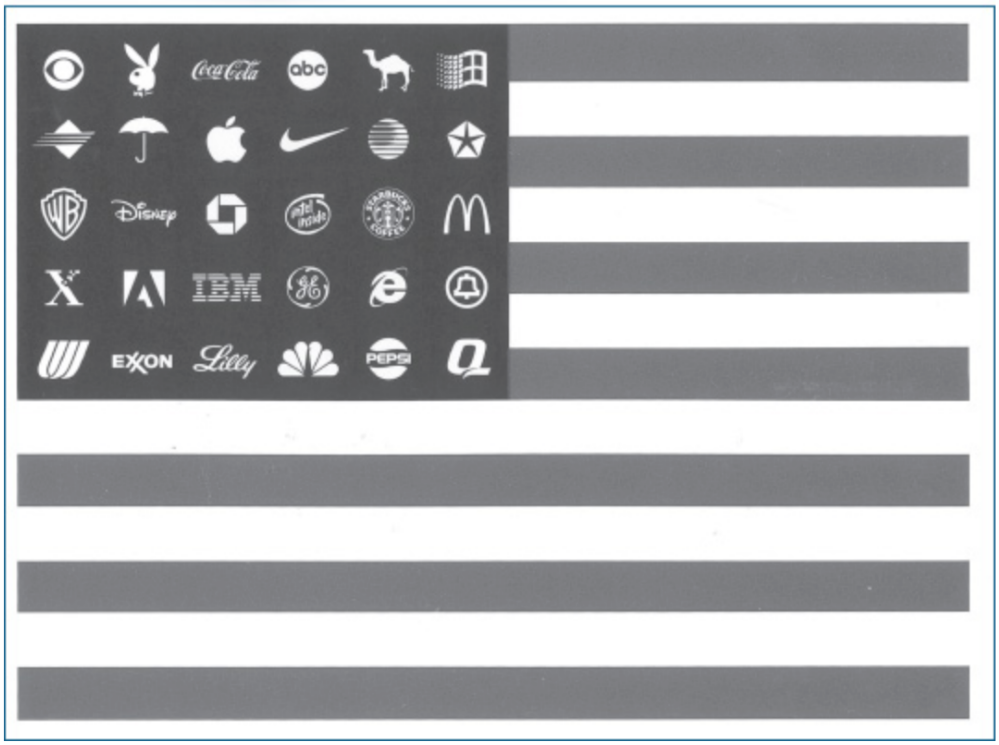
New word
corporate big business

Source A *In this extract Simon Foster describes the growth of international corporations in the late twentieth century. It comes from his book* Global Concerns, *Harper Collins, London, 2003, page 2.*

A major cause of globalisation is the growth of large companies searching for economies of scale. This is when a company produces goods more cheaply by producing them in bulk. Economies of scale mean that large companies can be more profitable then smaller ones. This has led to the growth in the number of international corporations. These are companies so large that they are not located in any one country.

In the 1960s these corporations accounted for around 17 per cent of world trade. However, in recent years, this figure has grown rapidly. Approximately 200 transnational corporations now dominate 32 per cent of world trade.

Source B *This 'Corporate American Flag' was designed for a 2003* Adbusters *magazine cover (*Adbusters *Media Foundation).* Adbusters *is an anti-consumerist magazine. This poster shows the power of multinational corporations in America and hence the world. The usual stars of the American flag have been replaced by the logos of the companies. The image suggests that these companies now control the US and its policies.*



Activity 1: (pairs) Assess the impact of globalisation

1 a) Study Source B. How many of the global brand logos can you identify? (N/A)
b) What does this say about the global impact of these big companies? (2×1) (2)
2 a) Explain what globalisation is. (1×2) (2)
b) Explain how globalisation has changed the world. (5×1) (5)
3 Use Source A to explain why multinational corporations became so powerful in the early 21st century. (3×1) (3)
4 a) Compare Sources A and B. Which is more neutral? (1×1) (1)
b) Explain why this is the case by commenting on the origin and purpose of these sources. (5×1) (5)

THINK AND DISCUSS

- In what ways is your life different from that of your grandparents' generation? How is this linked to globalisation?
- Do you think we, as South Africans, have benefitted from globalisation?
- What aspects of our lives are distinctively South African and in what ways are we part of a globalised culture?

The new balance of power and its impact on Africa

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War had two main effects on Africa. Firstly, the failure of communism and the emergence of democracies in Eastern Europe gave encouragement to democracy movements in Africa. As a result, several countries became multi-party democracies. In the early 1990s, 18 heads of state were removed in a wave of pro-democracy movements in only six years.

Secondly, the end of the Cold War meant that Africa was no longer significant in Cold War politics. During the Cold War, the superpowers had tried to gain allies in Africa by supplying aid and weapons. This usually had a negative impact. (For example, you learned how the superpowers used the Angolan

civil war as a battleground for Cold War rivalry in Unit 2.4.) Over the years, several unpopular and brutal regimes in different parts of Africa were kept in power by either Soviet or American backing.

The end of the Cold War meant the withdrawal of superpower aid and the collapse of some of these military regimes. The superpowers were no longer competing with each other for power and influence, or for control of mineral resources and strategic sea routes. So, for example, the USA dropped its support for anti-communist regimes. (In Unit 2.2 you learned how this affected Congo/Zaire, where the previously US-backed regime of Mobuto was overthrown.) At the same time, international **donor** agencies began to insist on conditions about '**good governance**' before granting aid. The effect of this was to support democratic change.

New words
donor an organisation that gives financial aid and support
good governance a government able to provide effective and legitimate administration and which is not corrupt

North-South and South-South relations

The new world order and the spread of globalisation created economic problems for many African countries. They struggled to compete with wealthier developed countries in the global economy. Many of them were not industrialised, and their economies were based on the export of unprocessed raw materials to the developed world. Another problem was the controversial issue of agricultural subsidies: farmers in America and Europe were given subsidies (payments) by their governments. This meant they could produce food cheaply and sell it on global markets. Farmers from **developing countries** could not compete with these cheap prices and so could not find markets for their products. Also, the issue of rising debt was a major problem. Some African countries ran up huge debts by borrowing money from richer industrialised nations. Interest on the debts took up an increasingly large proportion of their national incomes.

Key word
developing countries economies that are not fully industrialised

Mainly because of these economic problems, many people believe that globalisation has had a negative effect on African countries. Most African countries have neither the infrastructure (transport and communications) or the skills to attract investment from multinational companies, nor to produce goods to sell on world markets. They are not competitive enough in a world of free trade. Some critics believe that the effects of globalisation can be compared to colonisation.

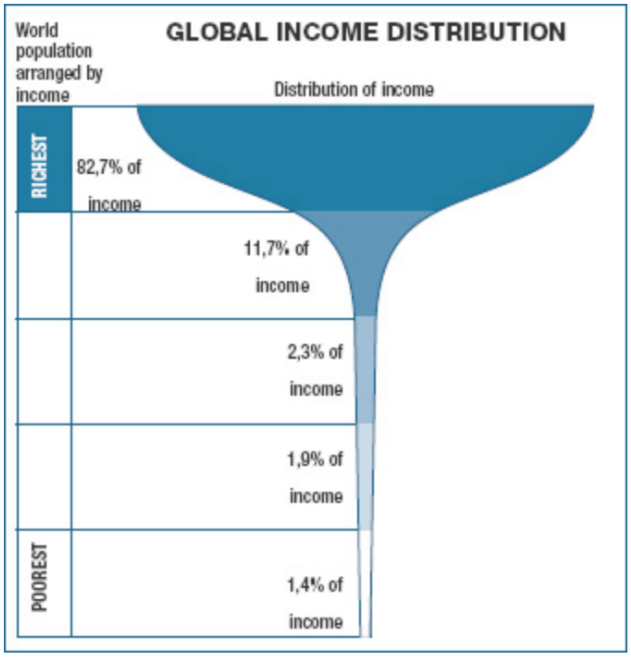
In the last 20 years the number of people living in poverty has increased in the developing world: in sub-Saharan Africa it has almost doubled. At the same time, the individuals and countries that control the multinational companies have become very wealthy. The poverty and inequality in many developing countries is obvious in this photograph of Mumbai, India.

Many African states have become poorer in the last 20 years and some people argue that globalisation has been responsible for this. The global economy is dominated by the industrialised nations (such as North America, Europe and Japan), which are sometimes referred to as the 'North'. The developing countries of Africa, Latin America and some parts of Asia are referred to as the 'South'. Globalisation has created greater inequality between North and South, and some historians have suggested that a North-South division has replaced the old East-West division of the Cold War.

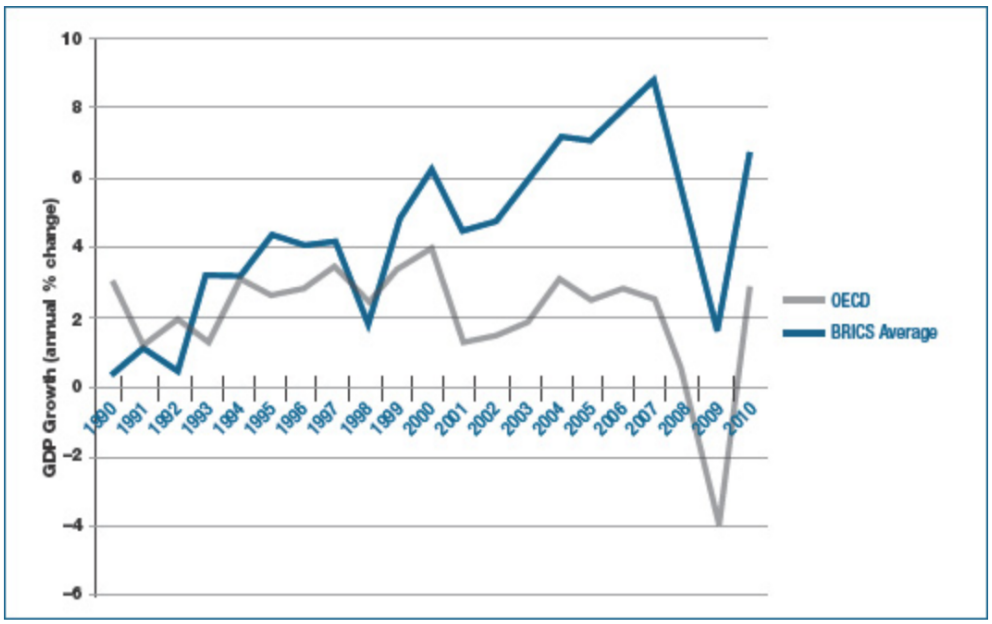
However, there are signs that this may be changing. Two of the countries that were formerly considered to be part of the 'South', namely China and India, have the fastest growing economies in the world. They are now referred to as **emerging economies**, rather than 'developing' economies. The countries of the South have formed trade links with each other and are starting to have a greater influence on global economic policies. (You will read about the formation of the trading partnership called BRICS later in this unit.)

Key word
emerging economies economies of developing countries which are growing relatively quickly

Source C *A graph showing global income distribution published in the* Cape Times, *24 January 2006, as part of an article by Professor Solly Benatar called 'Moral challenge to a sick world'. It shows unequal distribution of income in the world. Each horizontal band represents one fifth of the world's population. The richest one fifth of the world's population gets about 83% of the world's wealth; the poorest fifth gets less than 2%.*



Source D *This graph compares the growth of the economies of the BRICS nations compared with the 34 high-income industrialised nations of OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) between 1990 and 2010. It shows that the economies of the BRICS countries have grown at a faster pace. (The World Bank: GDP growth (annual %) – World Development Indicators, 2012)*



Activity 2: (pairs) Analyse the impact of the new balance of power

Use the text to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise.

1 a) Explain what is meant by the North-South divide. (2×2) (4)
   b) Explain why some people argue that developing countries have not benefited from globalisation. (4×1) (4)
2 Does Source C reinforce your answer to question 2? Explain. (4×1) (4)
3 Explain how the dominance of the North-South divide is starting to be challenged. (Use Source D to back up your answer.) (4×1) (4)
4 Read the Skills Support information on 'How to assess the value of statistical evidence' and explain to what extent Sources C and D are useful in learning about patterns in global economics. (10)
5 Explain how the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War had both positive and negative effects on Africa. (2×3) (6)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 4.

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to assess the value of statistical evidence

Strengths of statistical evidence

- It gives an overview of trends or comparisons in a succinct way.
- It is objective and based on measurable evidence.
- When in a graphic form it gives a useful visual picture of the trends.

Limitations of statistical evidence

- It has to be based on a broad spread of data otherwise it can be misleading or inaccurate.
- In many places data is not available.
- The evidence gathered may be from too narrow or small a range to give a realistic view.
- The evidence may be selective (that is especially selected to show a specific trend).

The dominance of global Western capitalism

The collapse of the Soviet Union was regarded as a victory by the West, as the triumph of capitalism over communism, and of democracy over totalitarianism. It left the USA in a dominant position in terms of ideology, the military and the economy. On the economic front, American capitalism was the dominant global economic system.

Bretton Woods and the emergence of a global economy

The foundations for global capitalism had been put in place towards the end of the Second World War at a conference at Bretton Woods in the USA. In 1944 Allied leaders met there to discuss the future world economy. They believed that global trade would be the best way for countries to recover from the economic destruction caused by the war. They also believed that '**free trade**' was the best way to ensure future economic stability, peace and prosperity. This was in contrast to the '**protectionist**' **trade policies** which most countries had followed before the war. To implement these ideas, they set up financial institutions to encourage international trade. The policies followed by these institutions led to the development of a new economic order – the global economy. It is dominated by the three international financial institutions, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation, which

you will read about below.

New words
free trade trade in which there are no restrictions (for example taxes on imports)
protectionist trade policies policies applied by governments to protect their own economies (for example restrictions on imports)

The pace of globalisation accelerated after the fall of the communist governments in Eastern Europe in 1989, followed by the collapse of the Soviet Union. Not only did these former communist countries become democracies, they also adopted capitalist economic systems, and became part of the global economy.

The International Monetary Fund

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established in 1944 to regulate international financial activities. For example, the IMF watches exchange rates between different currencies and tries to keep the rates stable. It also makes loans available to countries that have built up debts. In return these countries have to agree to adopt capitalist economic policies favoured by the IMF, such as the **Structural Adjustment Programmes**. In the 1980s and early 1990s, especially, governments had to cut state spending, reduce the number of people working for the state, privatise government enterprises and increase export production, according to these Structural Adjustment Programmes. These policies caused much economic hardship and popular opposition. The IMF has a great deal of power, as those countries that are not approved for credit by the IMF are unable to obtain credit from any other banks.

Key word
Structural Adjustment Programmes conditions which countries applying for IMF loans had to accept

The cartoon on the next page reflects the negative views that many people have of the role of the IMF.

THOU SHALT DEVALUE THY CURRENCY...
PRIVATIZE THY PUBLIC SECTOR...
CUT WAGES + COSTS IN WHAT'S LEFT...
REMOVE FOOD + FUEL SUBSIDIES...
INCREASE THY EXPORTS...
THE SIX COMMANDMENTS
...AND OPEN UP THY MARKETS TO ALL COMERS.
THEN THOU SHALT HAVE THE MONEY.

A cartoon published in Workers' World, *No. 6, March–April, 1992 showing the IMF as a multi-headed monster dictating the Six Commandments that countries should follow if they wanted to borrow money.*

The World Bank

The World Bank was also set up in 1944, originally to help with the reconstruction of Europe after the war. Now it uses investments from the wealthier of its 184 members to fund projects in developing countries. These countries are given long-term low interest loans for the projects, which include dams, power plants and other infrastructure developments.

The headquarters of the IMF and the World Bank are situated in Washington DC, Both organisations are dominated by the USA and other rich countries that provide most of the funds used by the IMF and World Bank.

The World Trade Organisation

In 1947 the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was set up to promote free trade among countries and reduce the trade barriers (tariffs) that hindered trade in agricultural, mineral and manufactured products. In 1995 GATT was replaced by the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The WTO promotes free trade in services (such as banking, telecommunications, and travel) as well as goods. Member countries have to abide by the rulings of the WTO and, if necessary, amend their own laws to do so.

The WTO is dominated by the G8 (which is short for Group of 8), the main industrialised countries in the world. They are the USA, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Canada and Russia. However, in recent years a larger group of countries, called the G20, has been involved in many of the discussions and decisions that are made. The G20 includes many of the countries from the 'South', which used to be considered developing economies (such as Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea and Turkey).

Source E *Allister Sparks describes the ways in which the developed G8 nations ignore the rules that they impose on other developing countries. From Allister Sparks*, Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa, *Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2003, page 215*

The G8 nations lay down the rules of international behaviour through organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, which they control, but they do not themselves always abide by those rules. The developing countries are required to open themselves to free trade by lowering tariffs on imported goods and ending subsidies, which of course is great for the big exporters of the developed world, but those developed countries, especially the US and the European Union, maintain their own fat farm subsidies and high tariff walls to protect their agricultural and textile industries from **Third World** imports.

Key word
Third World developing economies (mainly in Africa and Latin America)

Activity 3: (groups) Examine the development of global capitalism

Use the text to answer questions 1 to 5.

1 Why did the USA become the dominant power in the world in the early 1990s? (2×2) (4)
2 Identify the reason why it so important for developing countries to obtain approval from the IMF. (1×3) (3)
3 Explain how the conference at Bretton Woods in 1944 set the foundations for the establishment of global capitalism. (4×1) (4)
4 Explain how the IMF and World Bank can be seen as institutions which help development. (5×1) (5)
5 a) Explain why the IMF insisted that governments had to follow their Structural Adjustment Programme before they approved a loan. (4×1) (4)
   b) What effect did these conditions have in the countries that borrowed the money? (3×1) (3)
6 Use the text and Source E to explain why the policies of the WTO have not benefited developing countries. (4×1) (4)

The IT Revolution

Globalisation could not have happened without the technological revolution that took place in the last decades of the 20th century. Inventions and advances in electronics, telecommunications and computers made it possible for people around the world to have easy and immediate access to information, and to communicate it almost instantly. For this reason, our age is sometimes called the Information Age. The most important inventions and developments were the personal computer, the Internet, satellite and digital television networks, and new ways of storing data (such as CDs, DVDs, flash drives and tablets). Mobile and smart phones provided an easy means of communication, as well as a means to access, store and send information.

The IT revolution was responsible for many changes:

- English became the dominant global language. Although only 10% of people in the world speak English as their home language, over 80% of the world's Internet sites use English as their main language.
- It gave people more independence because it was not as easy for governments to control what their citizens were reading or watching, and it exposed people to international and global trends and forces.
- It changed the way people do business. International financial transactions involving billions of dollars could happen in seconds. Internet banking and online shopping became big business.
- Businesses no longer needed to be situated in the central business district of a city. They could be in small towns or villages, or even homes, as the Internet kept them in touch with anywhere in the world.
- Clerical work moved to countries where labour costs were lower. So, for example, call centres in India handle work for British businesses, such as banks and IT companies.
- In some cases it changed people's social practices as they were exposed to other ways of living and thinking. For example, personal relationships could be set up via on-line dating agencies or people could plan and book their own holidays and travel plans. People also learned more about individual human rights which challenged some of their traditional cultural norms.

A notable feature of the 'Arab Spring' a series of uprisings by ordinary people against repressive governments that started in Tunisia in 2011 was the use of social media websites to mobilise young people and organise the protests.

Source F *In this extract Joe Jenkins comments on the role social media can play in political opposition and representation. (From his book* Contemporary Moral Issues, *Heinemann, London, 2002, page 131)*

> Many people think that new forms of democratic opposition should be explored, and the Internet is increasingly being used for political debate and activism. In the future, the Internet may well replace parliaments and politicians and empower people to practice a genuine form of democracy, not just put a cross on a piece of paper every four or five years.

The IT revolution increased the inequalities between the 'haves' and the 'have nots', between those who had access to the new technologies and those who did not. This is referred to as the 'Digital Divide'. Huge numbers of people, especially in developing countries, did not have access to computers and the Internet, and so did not share in the benefits of the information age.

Source G *Robert Tignor identifies the differences of access to knowledge and communications between rich and poor. (From Robert Tignor et al*, Worlds Together, Worlds Apart, *WW Norton & Co, New York, 2002, page 444)*

> The have-nots were poor not just because they had no capital but because they had no access to knowledge and to the new communications media. The result was a widening gap between rich and poor … Thus globalisation has had the paradoxical effect of integrating the world's people ever more tightly, while at the same time intensifying the inequalities among them.

Source H *In this extract Gary Thorn explains how it is clear that globalisation has not ended poverty in the Third World, especially when one looks at the impact of global communications. (From Gary Thorn*, End of Empires, *Hodder and Stoughton, London, 2005, page 4)*

The evidence that decolonisation has not ended Third World poverty is before our eyes in this age of global communications. While the developed world contemplates the prospect of 'e universities' it is salutary [useful] to reflect on their lack of meaning for a malnourished Angolan child who would love to walk to school if only there was one to go to, and she still had legs (Angola's wars resulted in the world's highest amputation rate). If she were able to get 'netted up' she might browse the writings of a school of history that explains continuity of post-colonial poverty by the theory of '**neo-colonialism**' (that is 'situations in which under-developed nations achieved political independence but remained economically dependent upon the West.')

Key word

neo-colonialism
a new form of colonialism, used to describe the state of economic dependence of former colonies on industrialised countries

THINK AND DISCUSS: Explain why technological education and Internet accessibility are areas in which South Africa should be investing.

Civil resistance to global capitalism

From the late 1990s, there was a growing reaction to aspects of globalisation from a wide range of **civil society** groups. It was not only people in developing countries who opposed globalisation: people in industrialised countries feared that they would either lose their jobs or that their wages would be lowered. Ordinary people everywhere became concerned about the power that the WTO and the multinational companies had over the global economy. They believed that global society should act according to the interests of people, not in the interests of big business. They also believed that there was too much focus on economics and profits, and not enough attention paid to social issues. They put pressure on governments and multinational companies to bring about changes.

Key word

civil society
the organisations and groups that are outside formal government but represent citizen opinions

The first mass protest took place in Seattle in the USA in 1999, when the WTO was meeting to discuss new trading agreements that would give more power to the multinational companies. Over 50 000 people from around the world took part in the demonstrations. Their main message was that WTO policies favoured corporate interests at the expense of workers, the poor, consumers, developing countries and the environment. Although the police used violence against the protesters, the WTO meeting had to be abandoned. The Seattle protests raised public awareness of a growing anti-globalisation movement. Since the Seattle protests, most world meetings on economic issues (such as WTO, G8 or World Economic Forum meetings) have attracted vast crowds of demonstrators. Thousands of people have travelled around the world to take part in these protests.

In 2001 activists formed the *World Social Forum (WSF)* as an alternative to the World Economic

Forum, an annual meeting of government and business leaders. Using the slogan 'Another World is Possible', the WSF meets annually in developing countries to share ideas about alternatives to globalisation policies.

Another initiative was the *Make Poverty History* campaign which called on developed countries to cancel Third World debt. In July 2005 over 200 000 people marched in Edinburgh, Scotland, to protest about the effects of globalisation, and the issue of debt owed by African countries. They argued that this debt was caused by neo-colonialism and the domination of the economies of developing countries by the industrialised world and the global financial institutions. They called on the governments of the G8 countries to support 'Trade Justice not Free Trade', to 'Drop the Debt' and to 'Make Poverty History'.

Many people across the world are critical of global capitalism because of the emphasis it has put on making profits at the expense of ordinary citizens. People want to create a world that is designed to care for people rather than based on greed. This photograph is of a protest in 2009 outside the Bank of England in London. Notice the use of the WSF slogan: 'Another World is possible'.

In some countries there was resistance from consumers who used their buying power to challenge globalisation. One such campaign was the Fair Trade movement that aimed to ensure that producers in developing countries were paid a fair price for their produce. Another way in which consumers used their buying power was by buying environmentally friendly products. Some consumers also campaigned for better conditions for workers in factories owned by multinational companies in developing countries. Organisations such as *No Sweat* and *Labour behind the Label*, used poster campaigns to raise public awareness of conditions in '**sweatshops**'.

New word

sweatshops
factories where workers are paid very low wages and working conditions are poor

Activity 4: (pairs) Analyse the impact of information technology and the protests against global capitalism

1 The 21st century is often called the 'Information Age'. Use your knowledge to explain how the information explosion changed:
   a) business practices (4×1) (4)
   b) people's access to information (3×1) (3)
   c) cultural norms. (3×1) (3)
2 Use your knowledge to identify the problems facing the developed world as a result of globalisation. (3×1) (3)
3 Use the text and Source F to explain the potential impact of technology in the relationship between governments and ordinary people. (4×1) (4)
4 Use the text and Sources G and H to explain the 'digital divide' and how technology has widened the gap between the rich and poor. (10)
5 Use the text for question 5.
   a) Explain why people worry about the power of the WTO and multinationals. (3×1) (3)
   b) How did the protests in Seattle in 1999 demonstrate these concerns? (3×1) (3)
6 Use the text to explain how the *World Social Forum* and the *Make Poverty History* campaigns have raised awareness about the damage caused by global capitalism. (6×1) (6)

Refer to the assessment table at the end of Topic 1 for question 4.

Emerging economies and different forms of capitalism: BRICS

In the South some of the governments in the emerging economies found ways in which they could develop capitalism without being completely dominated by the institutions and free trade policies of the developed economies of the North. Such policies are sometimes called **state capitalism.** Governments provide support for local business with subsidies and impose high tariffs on imports that would otherwise undercut locally produced goods. The state oversees and supports capitalist development but does not completely control it. Local traditions and management practices are maintained and encouraged. This has been especially successful in China, the fastest growing economy of the 21st century, which is nonetheless an authoritarian state. Some governments in emerging economies are also careful not to take out large loans from the IMF which would require large and unrealistic debt repayments.

New word

state capitalism
an economic system where the state is a large share holder in large business enterprises

These policies have been particularly successful in the largest economies of the South, that is Brazil, Russia, India and China. In 2006 the foreign ministers of these countries started a series of meetings which led to the formation of BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, China) in 2009. The purpose behind the meetings was to discuss reforms to the global financial institutions, as well as ways in which developing countries could become more involved in global decision-making. In 2011 South Africa joined the other four,

and the organisation became known as BRICS. The five members of BRICS are considered to be the leading emerging economies which have an important influence either globally or in their own regions. Together they represent nearly half of the world's population, and 28% of the global economy.

The group holds annual summit meetings and encourages political, economic and cultural co-operation between its members. At their 2012 summit meeting in Delhi, they discussed ways of giving more voice to emerging economies by pushing for reforms to the IMF, and discussed the possibility of establishing a 'development bank' as a parallel to the World Bank.

Source I *An article discussing the role of State Capitalism as a path to economic growth. It is called 'State Capitalism – A New Path to Prosperity?' and can be found on* http://www.diplomatisches-magazin.de/business-03-2012-en/A6/.

State capitalism is nothing new. Lee Kuan Yew, founding father and prime minister of Singapore for thirty years, created a modern form of it for the city-state under his rule. He propagated the 'Asian values', a mix of family values and authoritative rule. This policy included a strong influence of the state on the economy, which was precisely one of the fundamental success factors of the Singaporean economy. State-run businesses, however, are enjoying a Renaissance in other parts of the world, particularly in China, Russia, and Brazil. They are also present in India, but more as a relic of the past.

'State-owned enterprises' (SOEs) are defined by the UN as businesses with a state participation of 10% or higher … Eighty per cent of China's market value consists of SOEs, 62 per cent in Russia and an equally significant percentage in Brazil. Nearly 30 in 100 large companies in emerging markets are SOEs … As the BRIC countries gain importance within the world economy, so does the significance of SOEs.

The answer to the question as to whether capitalism or socialism will dominate in the future seems to fall in favour of capitalism, albeit in various different forms, including state capitalism. Properly organised, a small ownership share in the business is all that is required for the state to assert its interests.

There are possible pitfalls to this scheme, notably there is a lack of higher-level control. The state as business owner changes the laws that make up the framework of economic trade in favour of its own businesses. It provides them with the necessary financial and organisational resources, such as reduced-interest loans. There is an increasing danger of poor investment and management shortcomings, with no corresponding safety net. This eventually leads to unfair competition and also the danger of corruption within these businesses and state organisations.

Activity 5: (pairs) Analyse different forms of capitalism in emerging economies

1 Identify the ways in which BRICS is starting to challenge the existing power relations within the global capitalist system. (4×1) (4)
2 Explain what is meant by the term 'state capitalism'. (1×4) (4)
3 Explain why many developing countries took loans from the IMF between 1960 and 1990 but are more cautious about doing this today.
4 Read Source I and answer these questions: (3×1) (3)
   a) Explain what a State Owned Enterprise is and how common they are in emerging markets. (5×1) (5)
   b) Does this article suggest that economies are going to become socialist in the future and that capitalism is dead? Explain your view. (2×1)(2)
   c) Explain what potential dangers could arise within 'state capitalism'. (4×1) (4)

THINK AND DISCUSS: If you have Internet access in your classroom, watch the discussion 'BRIC gives capitalism a makeover' on www.youtube.com/watch?v=9YHjYe6uSbA and '*Capitalism Gone Wild*' on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R8A2ByH0kXo&feature=related. In what ways are these academics arguing that Western dominated global capitalism needs to adapt to the changes being brought by the emerging economies in the 21st century?

Developments in South Africa after 1994

Success in avoiding war and Mandela's policy of reconciliation

Many people around the world welcomed the transition to democracy in South Africa in 1994. They were amazed that a country with such a violent and divided past could avoid outright civil war and reach a negotiated settlement, with a relatively peaceful transfer of political power from the National Party to the ANC. In just over four years South Africa had been transformed from an authoritarian state, in which 90% of the population had no political rights, to a democracy with one of the most liberal constitutions in the world, and powerful mechanisms to uphold it.

People were also inspired by the actions of Nelson Mandela who focused on promoting national reconciliation. He sometimes went to extraordinary lengths to meet and forgive former enemies, such as the public prosecutor who had demanded the death penalty for him and other MK leaders when they were sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. However some critics felt that Mandela devoted greater effort to reassuring white fears than to addressing black grievances.

Poverty and inequality and government attempts to redress past injustices

Although fundamental political change had taken place without much trouble in 1994, it was not so easy to bring about meaningful economic and social transformation. Colonialism and apartheid had created one of the most unequal societies in the world, and the differences were clearly marked along racial lines. There was a huge imbalance in the standard of living and the quality of services which the apartheid government had provided to different races.

In 1994 the new government introduced an ambitious Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to restructure society and **redistribute** wealth. The RDP included plans to build 300 000 new houses a year, provide the whole population with access to clean water, sanitation and electricity, and improve health, education and welfare services. The money allocated to welfare services was increased, and free healthcare was provided for young children. Thousands of state-subsidised houses were built, and progress was made in supplying piped water to remote areas and electricity to townships, although

millions of people still had no access to either water or electricity.

It was soon clear that the goals of the RDP were unrealistic, as there was simply not enough funding to make up the **backlog**. In 1996 the emphasis of economic policy shifted from redistribution to economic growth when the RDP was replaced by a new economic policy, called Growth, Employment and Redistribution (or GEAR). GEAR was based on the principles of free market capitalism, which the government hoped would encourage overseas investment, increase exports, and make South Africa more competitive in the global economy. It hoped that these would create jobs and economic growth, which would in turn raise revenue to improve living standards and provide services.

New words

redistribute
share out more fairly

backlog
build-up of things that need to be done or put right

Source J *Allister Sparks explains how the ANC's change in their economic policies with the adoption of GEAR angered their alliance partners. (From Allister Sparks*, Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa, *Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2003, pages 193–5)*

GEAR was an unvarnished free-market programme … a combination of relaxed exchange rates, privatisation, fiscal discipline and collaboration with the private sector to produce export-driven growth …

Thus GEAR marked the completion of the ANC's astonishing ideological U-Turn … It also caused great tension in the alliance, with COSATU and the SACP feeling their socialist concerns had been roughly cast aside. What rubbed salt into the wounds was that they felt the policy change had been foisted on them without consultation. The ANC had presented GEAR without even a debate in its National Executive Committee. Some disgruntled alliance members accused the political organisation of having betrayed the revolution.

Source K *The differences of opinion in the tripartite alliance are shown in this Zapiro cartoon published on 25 July 1996 in the Mail and Guardian newspaper. The government (represented by Trevor Manuel, Finance Minister) is steering the country in a more capitalist 'centre', position with their adoption of the GEAR policies, while COSATU and the SACP want it to 'Go Left', that is, to have a more socialist economic strategy.*

Source L *Initiator of GEAR and then Minister of Trade and Industry, Alec Erwin, explains the government's change of policy. His background was in radical trade union work and he was a member of the SACP but he believed that sticking rigidly to communist doctrine would not work in the post-1990 world. (Quoted in Allister Sparks*, Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa, *Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2003, page 194)*

> The most important thing is that we are not utopian (too idealistic). If the capitalist system is dominant, if powerful global forces are there and they are real, then it's pointless trying to implement a programme that has no bearing on the present.

The SACP and COSATU were angry about the change of policy. They believed that GEAR would do little to redress the imbalances of the past and would create even greater inequality. Some of their leaders accused the ANC of abandoning the interests of its main supporters. GEAR had mixed results. Although foreign investment increased, it was not at the levels that the government had hoped. The legacies of past policies, such as a poorly skilled workforce and low **productivity**, slowed down economic growth and put off foreign investors. Many South African companies were not sufficiently competitive on a global level.

New word

productivity
the rate and quality of production

One of the key factors responsible for the high levels of inequality was land ownership. The government planned to bring about a more just and equitable share of land. It hoped that within five years black farmers would own 30% of all farmland. Parliament established a Land Claims Commission to investigate land claims, and a Land Claims Court to settle disputes. A number of urban land claims were settled, but the more complicated rural ones, sometimes involving whole communities, were more difficult to resolve. As property rights had been recognised in the constitution, the present owners could not be forced to hand over the land, So the success of the process depended partly on the willingness of white landowners to sell their land to the government, and also on the amount of money the government allo-

cated to land reform. So the target of 30% was not achieved, and the distribution of land remained very unequal.

Today, the poverty and inequality that were marked features of South Africa are still evident. Although the inequality is no longer strictly defined along racial lines, the overwhelming majority of desperately poor people are black.

Nation-building and the challenges facing a liberation movement in power

New national symbols were adopted in an attempt to promote a common national identity among South Africans for the first time. The new national anthem and flag used elements of different cultural traditions. Some name changes were made, such as the towns, airports and dams named after apartheid-era leaders, but there was no immediate rush to shed all names associated with the past, as had happened in other former colonies.

During the liberation struggle, many people, especially those in poor communities, had high expectations that when the liberation movement came to power it would be able to provide land, running water, electricity, houses, clinics, schools and jobs almost immediately. The challenges facing the new government were considerable, as the economy was not sound. It had been weakened by years of economic sanctions, isolationist economic policies and the high cost of implementing and defending apartheid. The new government faced the dilemma of meeting the expectations of its supporters but at the same time promoting economic growth in a competitive global economy.

Source M *This is an extract of the 2nd Nelson Mandela Foundation Lecture, delivered by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, 23 November, 2004. Earlier in the speech he talks about the remarkable successes South Africa has made in our transition to democracy. This extract points out some of the concerns Tutu has about increasing government control. For the then President Mbeki's response to this lecture see* http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/web-published-response-thabo-mbeki-archbishop-tutu-039s-2004-nelson-mandela-lecture.

One of the undoubted gifts we bring to the world is our diversity and our capacity to affirm and celebrate our diversity so that today we have eleven official languages. We have a four-language anthem. We say each one of us matters and we need each other in the spirit of ubuntu, that we can be human only in relationship, that a person is a person only through other persons. Our diversity, which we must affirm and celebrate, is diversity of race, of language, of culture, of religion and of points of view. We want our society to be characterised by vigorous debate and dissent where to disagree is part and parcel of a vibrant community. We should not think that those who disagree, who express dissent, are disloyal or unpatriotic. An unthinking, uncritical, party line-toeing is fatal to a vibrant democracy. I am concerned to see how many have so easily been seemingly cowed and apparently intimidated to comply …

In the struggle days it was exhilarating because they spoke of a mandate -you had to justify your position in vigorous exchanges. That seems no longer to be the case. It seems sycophancy is coming into its own. I would have wished to see far more open debate for instance of the HIV/Aids views of the President in the ANC. Truth cannot suffer from being challenged and examined. There surely can't have been unanimity from the outset. I did not agree with the President but that did not make me his enemy. He knows that I hold him in high regard but none of us is infallible and that is why we are a democracy and not a dictatorship. The government is accountable, as are all public figures, to the people. I would have hoped for far more debate and discussion …

If we believe in something then surely we will be ready to defend it rationally, hoping to persuade those opposed to change their point of view. We should not too quickly want to pull rank and to demand an uncritical, sycophantic, obsequious conformity. We need to find ways in which we engage all the people in public discourse through indabas, town hall forums, so that no one feels marginalised and that their point of view matters, it counts. Then we will develop a national consensus. We should debate more openly, not using emotive language, issues such as affirmative action, transformation in sport, racism, xenophobia, security, crime, violence against women and children … It should be possible to talk as adults about these issues without engaging in slanging matches. My father used to say, 'Don't raise your voice; improve your argument.'

South Africa as a developmental state

Some people believed that to accomplish this South Africa should be a 'developmental state'. This is one in which the state plays an active role in directing the economy, and tries to balance economic growth and social development. This means, for example, making government resources available for healthcare, housing, education and social welfare.

Even after the government adopted GEAR in 1996, it still allocated nearly 50% of its budget to social services such as these. The government also steadily extended the system of social grants to all those who could not support themselves by providing state old-age pensions, child support, foster care and disability grants, as well as care dependency grants. Child support grants, initially provided for children up to the age of 7, were later extended to the age of 18. By 2002, 7 million people, out of a population of 45 million were dependent on social grants from the state. By 2012, this number had risen to 16 million. With growing levels of unemployment, this was a formidable challenge to government resources. Furthermore, although social welfare had improved, millions of people still lacked basic services, and serious inequality remained a striking feature of society.

Developing states usually experience difficulty in obtaining resources to pay for the required social development. Although effective taxation collection was improved in South Africa, the amount obtained

by taxation alone is limited when income levels for many South Africans remain low. In the early 2000s some people proposed that the only way to achieve real social upliftment and economic transformation would be for the government to **nationalise** resources such as the mines. Others argued that this would reduce efficiency and scare off potential foreign investors.

Key word
nationalise the state takes over the ownership of resources (for example mines, commercial farms and banks)

Activity 6: (individual) Analyse policies and perspectives in South Africa after 1994

1 Use the text to identify the main purpose of the RDP programme.
2 Study Source M and answer these questions: (4×1) (4)
   a) How does Tutu describe diversity and why does he think it is valuable? (3×1) (3)
   b) Explain how Tutu's commentary on the need for open discussion is summed up by his father's saying, 'Don't raise your voice improve your argument.' (6×1) (6)
   c) Study Source K in Unit 4.1. It is the lecture given by former state president Nelson Mandela in 10 September 2004. In what ways are Mandela's concerns the same as and different from those of Tutu?
3 Use the text and Source J to explain how GEAR was an 'unvar-(2×3) (6)
nished free-market programme'. (6×1) (6)
4 Use the text and Sources J and K to explain how the SACP and COSATU reacted to the ANC's change of policies. (2×3) (6)
5 Extract information from Source L to explain why the ANC decided to change policy. (4×1) (4)
6 Use the text and your knowledge for this question:
   a) Explain the importance of land reform. (2×1) (2)
   b) Why was it so difficult to address this issue? (3×1) (3)

THINK AND DISCUSS: An important source of revenue to governments comes from taxes. In South Africa today only 5 million people earn enough to pay personal income tax, although everybody has to pay sales tax (VAT) on goods which they buy. How does this affect the government's ability to implement social development programmes?

THINK AND DISCUSS: Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of nationalisation as an answer to the state's need for more funds.

Responses to globalisation

An age of economic insecurity

The fact that after 1990 most of the world was capitalist did not bring economic stability. The cycles of boom and bust, or growth and recession, which were a basic feature of capitalism continued. In addition, countries such as Russia, which adopted the capitalist system, had severe economic problems and struggled to compete in the global economy.

A serious economic crisis hit the world in 2008, when several financial institutions (for example Lehman Brothers) in the USA collapsed. The effects of the collapse affected economies globally, causing unemployment and hardship for millions of people. Similarly, a financial crisis that hit European Union countries (the 'Eurozone' crisis) in 2011-2012 also had a global impact. Many people blamed the capitalist banking system, which had allowed governments and individuals to fall into debt. They also blamed the policies of the global financial institutions, which demanded controls on government spending, for the economic insecurity that swept the world.

In 2011 a protest movement, calling itself 'Occupy Wall Street', gained supporters in 1 500 cities around the world. The protesters claimed to be fighting against the power of major banks and multinational corporations which had caused the worst economic collapse in generations, and against the 'richest 1% of people who are writing the rules of an unfair global economy'. They called for stricter controls over banks and other financial institutions to prevent corruption and for higher taxes to be paid by the wealthy to fund better social services.

Nationalism and local conflicts

Globalisation also sparked nationalist responses by those who believed that it weakened the power of governments to control their own affairs. Conservatives blamed globalisation for all the political, economic, social and cultural problems their countries faced. They used resentment against ethnic minorities, immigrants and job losses to raise support for their ideas amongst local citizens. The conservative groups believed that migration and **multi-culturalism** threatened their traditional way of life. These ideas led to the growth of right-wing movements in several countries, including the USA, France and Russia. Even governments that had been supporting free trade policies took measures to protect themselves against some of the effects of globalisation. Many Western governments took steps to stem the flow of **migrants**, especially those from developing countries.

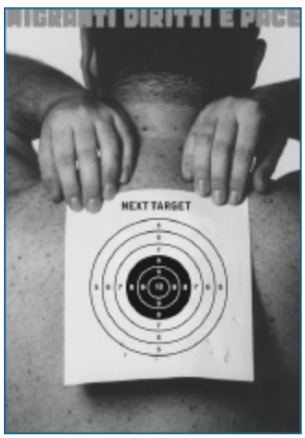
New words

multi-culturalism
a society which celebrates having a mixture of cultures

migrants
people who move in search of economic opportunities

In some extreme cases, nationalism led to ethnic conflicts, civil war and genocide. This is what happened in Yugoslavia where tensions between ethnic groups, mainly Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims, led to the break-up of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. In the process the area became the scene of terrible acts of mass murder, rape and revenge. Three civil wars were fought – in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo – in which thousands of civilians were killed. The worst example of genocide happened in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995 where Serb nationalists murdered 200 000 Bosnian Muslims; and two million more were forced to flee as refugees.

The killing of Bosnian Muslims (known as 'ethnic cleansing') went on for three years, while the outside world did little to stop it. In one of the worst acts of genocide of the war, UN soldiers stood by while Serb soldiers systematically selected and killed 8 000 Muslim men and boys in the city of Srebrenica in 1995. This photograph shows the women of Srebrenica asking that the leaders responsible for the genocide be put on trial for crimes against humanity. Some were put on trial by the United Nations War Trials Tribunal in 2011.



This poster challenges the Italian government's restrictive immigration laws by including a dark-skinned man with a target on his back. The poster promotes the idea that the laws will make immigrants vulnerable and will lead to racist and xenophobic responses. The words on the poster 'Migranti Diritti e Pace' mean 'Immigrant Rights and Peace'. This poster was made in Italy for the Social Forum Matera.

Extremism: religious fundamentalism

Some people blamed globalisation for the loss of national identity and the destruction of their cultures and traditional values. They believed that the materialism associated with globalisation required a return to **fundamentalist** religious practices. This resulted in the growth of religious fundamentalism. For example, religion became an increasingly powerful force in American politics, and influenced presidential elections. Religious conservatives, especially right-wing Christians, attacked many of the social changes and materialist values which they blamed on globalisation. They opposed such social policies as

equal rights for women, abortion and same-sex marriage. They upheld a literal (or fundamental) interpretation of the Bible. For example, they demanded that the scientific evidence for biological evolution be excluded from school curricula. They also opposed people of other faiths, especially Muslims, whom they regarded as sinful and heretical.

New word

fundamentalist
following the rules of the religion exactly

In other parts of the world, fundamentalists believed that the 'Americanisation' of the world had resulted in moral decline and in falling living standards. They associated globalisation with Western economic and cultural dominance. Some were prepared to resort to extremist measures to achieve this.

Islamic fundamentalists demanded that the governments of Muslim countries rule strictly according to traditional Islamic law. They opposed many Western social and human rights, such as the equality of women, the freedom of religious beliefs or the abolition of capital punishment, as they believed that these were contrary to the fundamentals of Islam.

In Afghanistan, an Islamic fundamentalist political movement called the Taliban seized power between 1996 and 2001 and imposed fundamentalist policies and laws on the population. For example, girls were not allowed to attend school and get an education. In 2011-12, Islamic fundamentalists challenged Arab governments in North Africa, such as Egypt and Tunisia. Parts of northern Mali in West Africa were taken over by Islamic fundamentalists in 2012.

Source N *Peter Collins explains how Islamic fundamentalism was used to mobilise anger against the West. (From his book*, Ideology After the Fall of Communism, *Boyars/Bowerdean, London, 1992, pages 95-96)*

Sinister forces have been at work stirring up potentially explosive hatred for the West and especially the United States. Thus a perceived lack of ability by most people to achieve equality, in materialistic terms, with Western standards of living has combined with a genuine distaste for the apparent immorality of modern Western culture to entrench a deep-seated aversion to 'Westernisation'. When, to this, is added the widespread resentment of nations who feel, or can be made by their leaders to feel, that they have been treated as second class citizens of the world by an arrogant, ignorant, bullying United States and its satellites, it is easy to see why appeals to rediscover the values and virtues of a purifying, militant and emphatically non-Western faith should be so effective.

9/11 and its consequences

The world was stunned when, on 11 September 2001, hijackers seized control of four passenger aircraft in the USA. The hijackers crashed two of them into the World Trade Centre building in New York, and a third into the Pentagon building in Washington DC, the headquarters of the US Defence Department. The fourth plane crashed in Pennsylvania. Over 3 000 people died, many of them trapped in the collapsing twin towers of the World Trade Centre. Osama bin Laden, the leader of an Islamic militant group, Al Qaeda, claimed responsibility for the attack.

How was the **9/11** attack linked to globalisation? Analysts believed there were several links. Some saw it as a reaction against the economic domination of the world by the developed countries (through the WTO and G8): they believed that the attack was not directed at the US itself but rather at a very visible

symbol of global capitalism. Others saw it as a response to cultural globalisation; an armed struggle to preserve traditions and values against Western ideas and influence. Others believed that the attacks were politically motivated: a reaction against US domination and specific actions of American foreign policy, such as American support for Israel against the Palestinians. After the attack, it emerged that Al Qaeda had been planning it for years.

Key word

9/11
the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York City (which happened on 11 September 2001 (in the USA the month is stated before the day)

Osama bin Laden on TV justifying the attacks on the US from his place of hiding in Afghanistan, 7 October 2001. Although he was bitterly opposed to American-dominated globalisation, his broadcast ironically showed how dependent he was on it. He used video, Internet and satellite technology to spread his message to the world. He wore a Western-style camouflage battle jacket together with traditional Muslim headgear, and a Timex sports watch, produced by a multinational company that was founded in the US. Bin Laden was finally located and killed by a US hit squad at his hiding place in Pakistan in 2011, nearly 10 years after 9/11.

Source O *Manfred Steger explains how Al Qaeda justified their actions by their interpretation of the effects of globalisation. (From his book* Globalization: A Very Short Introduction, *Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, page 130)*

In several videotapes that surfaced in subsequent months, Osama bin Laden left no doubt that his organisation had committed these atrocities in response to various manifestations of globalization: the expansion of the American military around the globe, especially the presence of US military bases in Saudi Arabia; the internationalisation of the 1991 Gulf War; the escalation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; the 'paganism' of the modern world; and the 80 year history of 'humiliation and disgrace' perpetrated against the 'Islamic nation' by 'international infidels'.

Source P *In 1999, high in the Afghan Mountains, John Miller, a journalist, interviewed Osama*

bin Laden, the leader of Al Qaeda and mastermind behind the attacks on the twin towers in New York in 2001. (Quoted in Jussi M. Hanhimäki and Odd Arne Westad (eds), The Cold War: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts, *Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, page 655)*

Bin Laden never raises his voice, and to listen to his untranslated answers, one could imagine that he is talking about something that did not much concern him. Nonchalant. He does not smile. He continued, looking down at his hands as if he were reading invisible notes. 'Your situation with Muslims in Palestine is shameful – if there is any shame left in America. Houses were demolished over the heads of children. Also, by the testimony of relief workers in Iraq, the American-led sanctions resulted in the death of more than one million Iraqi children. All of this is done in the name of American interests. We believe that the biggest thieves in the world and the terrorists are the Americans. The only way for us to fend off these assaults is to use similar means. We do not worry about American opinion or the fact that they place prices on our heads. We as Muslims believe our fate is set.'

Source Q *Niall Ferguson argues that we should be careful about making generalisations about Muslim attitudes. He says that Muslim opinion is divided and many are not against the West. (Quoted in John T. Rourke (ed.)*, Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in World Politics, *McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, Iowa, 2006, pages 64-65)*

The Muslim world is as divided as ever, and not merely between the traditional fissure between Sunnis and Shiites. It is also split between those Muslims seeking a peaceful way of living with the West (an impulse embodied in the Turkish government's desire to join the EU) and those drawn to the revolutionary Islamic Bolshevism of renegades like al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. Opinion polls from Morocco to Pakistan suggest high levels of anti-American sentiment, but not unanimity. In Europe, only a minority expresses overt sympathy for terrorist organizations; most young Muslims in England clearly prefer assimilation to jihad. We are a long way from the bipolar clash of civilizations that might pose a threat to the United States and its allies.

The 'war on terror' and Iraq

Within weeks of the 9/11 attacks, the US president George W. Bush declared a 'war on terror'. US-led forces invaded Afghanistan and overthrew the Taliban regime, which was thought to be hiding many members of Al Qaeda, including Osama bin Laden. Hundreds of Al Qaeda suspects were taken to the US military base at Guantanamo Bay (on the island of Cuba), where they were held without trial or legal representation. In 2003 US-led forces invaded Iraq to overthrow the regime of the dictator, Saddam Hussein, who was suspected of having 'weapons of mass destruction', which could be used in a terrorist attack on the West. No such weapons were found and the controversial occupation of Iraq increased anti-American feeling around the world.

Activity 7: (groups) Analyse responses to globalisation

Use the text and your knowledge to answer these questions, unless indicated otherwise.

1 Identify the way in which capitalism came under pressure between 2008 and 2012. (6×1) (6)
2 Explain how Collins (Source N) explains the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. (5)
3 Use Sources O and P to explain the link between globalisation and the 9/11 attack. (2×4) (8)
4 Study Source N and the Bin Laden quotation in Source P. In what ways should we question their reliability? (Consider the language used, the intended audience and the purpose for which the source was made.)
5 a) Without the inclusion of Ferguson's analysis (Source Q),(2×3) (6) what perspective would you have had about Muslim attitudes?
   b) Why would this be misleading? (4×1) (4)(2×2) (4)
6 Analyse how the growth in nationalism and religious fundamentalism is linked to globalisation. (2×4) (8)

Environmental movements

Many people criticised globalisation because of its negative effects on the environment. They believed that multinational companies deliberately chose locations where environmental laws were less strict. Pressure from the World Bank and IMF on countries to increase exports often led to the destruction of forests, for timber exports or to expand plantation agriculture. Critics also believed that globalisation, with its emphasis on industrial growth, trade and air travel, contributed significantly to pollution, global warming and climate change.

In some countries, opponents of globalisation formed political parties that promoted environmentally friendly policies. They were generally referred to as 'Green' parties. They were critical of the role that governments and multinationals played in the global economy. They formed small but vocal **pressure groups** in many industrialised countries.

New word

pressure groups
groups which try to increase awareness and to force the government to apply certain policies

In a few places, 'Green' parties obtained political power, usually in coalition with other political groups. For example, the German Green Party was part of the national government from 1998 to 2005 and reduced the level to which Germany depended on nuclear power. In the Australian state of Tasmania, 'green' politicians successfully stopped the destruction of indigenous forests in the late 1990s. Some NGOs promoted environmental causes. One of the best known is *Greenpeace*, an organisation dedicated to preserving the world's natural resources and its animal and plant life. Other environmental NGOs such as the *Rainforest Alliance*, focused on the destruction of rainforests in Brazil and Southeast Asia, which they saw as one of the most crucial conservation issues facing the world. The *Friends of the Earth* and the *World Wildlife Fund (WWF)* raised awareness about the negative effects on the environment caused by the actions of multinationals and by some World Bank projects. They put pressure on governments and

UN agencies to curb these practices. The *Environmental Justice Foundation* promoted sustainable development, based on the belief that saving the environment was the best way of tackling global poverty.

A key environmental issue that has emerged more recently is global warming. Scientific evidence indicates that the world's climate is changing and that warmer temperatures may lead to melting ice caps, rising sea levels, and expanding deserts. These changes will have a destructive effect on global living conditions, particularly in poorer regions.

Many experts think that one of the main causes of global warming is the massive increase in greenhouse gases produced by petrol and oil fuels. Some environmental pressure groups are trying to persuade governments to enforce policies to limit greenhouse gases. However, many leading industrial countries resist such measures. In 2005, some governments signed the Kyoto Protocol. This committed them to limit their greenhouse gas emissions. But the Protocol was rejected by major countries such as the USA, Australia, China and India, on the grounds that it would restrict their economic growth. Some politicians and industrialists do not think that global warming is caused by human activity and a few deny that it is taking place at all. Global environmental issues have thus become a key political issue in many countries today.

The future of globalisation

In the 21st century it has become clear that the capitalist system which emerged in the Western world in the Cold War era needs to adapt to changing circumstances of an increasingly globalised world. Rapidly growing economies of nations in other parts of the world, such as China, have challenged the economic domination of the United States. There has been much opposition to the domination of the North and the policies of institutions such as the IMF and World Bank, which have failed to deal with poverty, unemployment and environmental issues such as global warming. But there are also signs of changes aiming at doing away with the serious inequality in the world, between the privileged North and the disadvantaged South, which some have referred to as 'global apartheid'. If this happens, then perhaps globalisation will bring greater global interaction to the benefit of all.

Activity 8: (individual & class) Pose your own questions

Read the Skills Support information below on 'How to ask different types of questions' and then do this task:

1 Think about what questions you would like to ask about the world in the 21st century. Write down all your questions. (Do this individually) (N/A)
2 Share your questions with your group and identify which ones are 'closed' and which are 'open'. Try to answer the closed questions – this will help you to understand the content better. (N/A)
3 Choose the most interesting 'open' question and discuss it. (N/A)

SKILLS SUPPORT

How to ask different types of questions

Closed questions: Most of the questions you get asked in tests and examinations are closed questions. That means they have one or a few correct answers. Closed questions can be factual questions like: 'How did the Bretton Woods conference lay the foundations for the modern world economy?' or analytical questions like: 'How balanced is this historian's interpretation?'

Open questions: These are questions that take you beyond the obvious. Open questions sel-

dom have definite answers but rather open up a range of possible ideas. They require you to use your mind, heart and imagination. Open questions can be:

- Psychological questions: These deal with issues about how people feel and think and look at why people do what they do (For example: ‘How can big corporations exploit workers just so that they can make big profits?’ or ‘What kind of mindset does a person need to be an initiator and facilitator of positive change?’ or ‘What makes people so short-sighted that they knowingly destroy the environment for short-term gain?’)
- Philosophical questions: These are the ‘bigger’ questions that deal with moral issues and the meaning behind these events for humankind. (For example: ‘Do people learn to be cruel or are they born that way?’ or ‘Do people need external rules to make them behave in a civilised way?’ or ‘Is the way we treat animals and the environment a measure of our humanity?’)

UNIT 6.3 What have we learnt from history?

This unit is not for exam purposes

You have now come to the end of your FET studies in History, so this is a good time to consider some important questions about the subject. What can we learn from history? How has studying the past helped us to draw lessons for present-day society? To what extent can we understand why people behaved the way they did? Has history taught us more about the 'human condition'?

What can we learn from history?

Some people argue that studying history is a waste of time. This is a view particularly held by some in South Africa, where the past has been painful and divisive. People feel we should concentrate on creating a better future instead of remembering the past.

However, others argue that if we do not know about the past we are like people who have no memory. They cannot understand why their lives are the way they are or make sense of current events in the news. For example, without knowing about history we cannot explain why South Africa today has one of the world's most unequal distributions of wealth or why ownership of land is such a controversial issue. We cannot understand why it is so difficult to make peace in the Middle East or why the USA is the dominant power in the world today.

We also need to know about the past in order to counter false claims by people in the present who use history to justify their ideas or actions. This is especially true of nationalists who often simplify or distort the past to suit their own purposes.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Look at a copy of today's newspaper or news coverage online. Discuss how one of the events reported can be better understood if we know about the history of the place or people concerned.

How has studying the past helped us to draw lessons for present-day society?

One of the skills that you have learnt by studying history is how to use different types of sources and assess their arguments. This is helpful in assessing material produced today, such as newspapers, TV broadcasts and websites. By thinking about the perspective of the people who produced these sources we realise that we cannot believe everything we read or hear and we can better assess the arguments that they make.

Some people go further than this and believe that by studying history we can learn lessons for the present and avoid making some of the mistakes that were made in the past. You can use examples from your studies in Grade 12 to show this. The Second World War was the result of destructive nationalism and militarisation, and so in the second half of the 20th century world powers tried to avoid this happening again. The lessons of this war made the USA and USSR cautious about using nuclear weapons against each other and so the Cold War remained 'cold'. If governments understand why the Great Depression took place in the 1930s, they can implement policies that avoid a repetition, such as regulating the stock market and banks. If we know about the destructive and genocidal results of racism in the 19th and 20th

centuries, we can try to prevent racist ideas and movements in the world today. If we learn about the way women were treated in the past, we can be more aware of the need for gender equality today.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Discuss examples, apart from the ones mentioned already in the text, of lessons we can learn from the past which can help us to make good decisions today

To what extent can we understand why people behaved the way they did?

One of the possible benefits of studying history is not to learn lessons from people who we believe were like us, but to be able to **empathise** with people and times which were clearly different from our own. This means understanding the forces and ideas that were meaningful for them, but are no longer so for us. For example, why did people in the Soviet Union support Stalin in the 1930s, or people in South Africa support apartheid in the 1960s? Sometimes this is difficult to do, as it is not easy for us today to understand why people behaved in ways we find unacceptable. Extreme examples are trading in slaves or allowing the Holocaust to take place.

New word

empathise
to be understanding of and share the feelings of another

Empathising with people in the past does not mean justifying or approving of their actions. But it involves understanding people in their own context, and not with our own preconceptions, and this is a skill which is useful in understanding other people and societies in the world today. It also helps us to realise that we too might not have succeeded in getting everything right, and that in the future historians will study us and find it difficult to understand how we acted and thought in the way we did.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Read the Skills Support information below on 'The importance of developing the skill of empathy' and discuss why we should seek to understand the attitudes and feelings of people who come from different perspectives and backgrounds from our own.

SKILLS SUPPORT

The importance of developing the skill of empathy

- Empathy is the skill of being able to step outside your own frame of reference and norms to try to understand the perspective and actions of people who come from a different background or time period and who hold different beliefs to your own.
- Empathy is different from sympathy where you feel sorry for someone in their situation. It is rather an attempt to step into the shoes of another person and to experience things from their perspective.

- Empathy helps you to see events from various points of view and enables you to reach a better understanding of the dynamics and complexities of the issues.
- Empathy enables you to understand, rather than holding onto a single perspective as 'truth' or blaming and judging others.

THINK AND DISCUSS: Explain why developing the skill of empathy is so important to understand:

- events in the past that seem strange to us and need a sense of empathy and historical understanding to be understandable
- ideas or practices that we take for granted today but which future historians might find difficult to understand without using empathy.

Has history taught us more about the 'human condition'?

Some people argue that there is a problem in learning lessons from history. No situation today is an exact replica of one in the past and we need to take account of the differences. We also need to consider how far there are universal human factors (the 'human condition') and how far we are all products of a particular time and place. Part of that 'human condition' might be the desire to love and be loved. But this has not always been expressed in the same way. Today we think that forming nuclear families on the basis of a romantic and loving marriage is the normal human experience, but this has not always been the case. In the past marriages were often arranged by parents, and romance or love played no part. This is still the case in some societies.

Activity 1: (groups) Discuss perspectives on history

1 Read the sources below and discuss these questions in relation to each:
   a) What does each writer mean? (3×3) (9)
   b) Who do you most agree with and why? (1×3) (3)

Source A *The British historian John Tosh explains how the historian should study the past. From John Tosh*, The pursuit of history, *Pearson Education Ltd., Harlow, 2006, page 33*

The point is not to find a precedent but to be alert to possibilities. History is an inventory of alternatives, all the richer if research is not conducted with half an eye to our immediate situation in the present.

Source B *The opening line of the Prologue to the novel by L.P. Hartley called* The Go-Between, *Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1958, page 7*

The past is another country: they do things differently there.

Source C *The American writer Gertrude Stein comments on the similarities between people in the past and the present. Gertrude Stein*, Picasso, *first published 1938, reprinted Beacon*

Press, Boston, 1959, page 10

> People really do not change from one generation to another, as far back as we know history people are about the same … they have the same needs, the same desires, the same virtues and the same qualities, the same defects ... the streets change, the way of being driven in the streets change, the buildings change, the comforts in the houses change, but the people from one generation to another do not change.

THINK AND DISCUSS: While discussing 'What have we learned from history?', each person in your group should argue from one of the following points of view:

- To understand the present you have to know where you come from and how this has shaped your own identity.
- To make sense of the present you need to know what forces have shaped the modern world.
- There is nothing relevant to be learnt from history.
- As a citizen of a country you need to know the history to ensure you can see how people are using the past to promote their own agendas.
- The present and the future are nothing like the past and it is pointless to think we can take lessons from the past to help us deal with a totally different, modern situation.
- In learning about history we become aware of point of view, perspective, objectivity and subjectivity, bias, selection of content and to question the reliability of evidence. These skills are essential to analysing and understanding the world around us.

This cartoon makes fun of the idea that history teaches us lessons from the past that we should apply to our lives today.

Assessment

Source-based Assessment Task

This can be used as part of the formal assessment for Term 3.

What was the impact of the emergence of a 'new world order'?

Use the sources at the end of this assessment to answer these questions:

1 According to Source A, what are the main differences between the 'North' and the 'South'? (2×2) (4)

2 Study Source B and answer these questions:

a) Using the information in this source and your own knowledge, explain the economic effects that the end of the Cold War had on Africa. (2×2) (4)

b) What two reasons does this source suggest for the growth of democracy in Africa at this time? Quote phrases from the source to support your answer. (2×2) (4)

3 Study Source C and answer these questions:

a) Who do the small figures on the left of the frames in the cartoon represent? (1×2) (2)

b) How does the cartoonist show the power of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the first frame of the cartoon? Refer to two visual clues in your answer.

c) Explain the message of the cartoon. (4×1) (4)(2×2) (4)

4 Study Source D and answer these questions:

a) According to this source, what are the short-term disadvantages of globalisation to countries or individuals? (4×1) (4)

b) What bias does the writer have towards globalisation? (Find two pieces of evidence in the source to corroborate your answer.) (3×1) (3)

c) How does the job held by the writer influence our expectation of his bias? (1×3) (3)

5 Study Source E and answer these questions:

a) Use your own knowledge to explain how the fall of the Berlin Wall contributed to the development of the global economy. (4×1) (4)

b) How does Zapiro's analysis (Source E) of the post-Cold War period reinforce the analysis given in Source A? (Identify two specific points of comparison in both sources.) (3×2) (6)

6 Use the information in all the sources to explain how the 'new world order' has had both positive and negative effects on developing countries. It will be assessed according to the table on page 67, or a table from the Teacher's Guide (your teacher will give you a copy).(8)

[50]

Source A *From Paul Boyer et al*, The Enduring Vision, *D.C. Heath and Co, Lexington, 1996, page 1082*

In the post-Cold War era, the globe's central **polarity** increasingly has seemed not East-West but North-South; between the industrialized societies of the northern hemisphere, with their generally high living standards and stable birth rates, and a southern hemisphere scourged by poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, crushing population growth, and a dangerous gap between the masses and the ruling elites.

New word
polarity division

Source B *Yonah Seleti*, Securing Africa for the Twenty First Century, *published in Yonah Seleti (ed.)* Africa Since 1990, *New Africa Education, Cape Town, 2004, page 31*

Although the end of the Cold War meant that Africa was released from the pressures and demands of a **bipolar world**, the capacity of the new states to develop their economies was affected by the withdrawal of Soviet aid. The withdrawal of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communism swept in the new global order with the United States as the only superpower and capitalism as the only successful model of development for the Third World.

The pressures and demands for development on the African continent compelled African leaders to turn to Western institutions for development aid. The West seized the opportunity to link the doling out of development aid to a demand for political reforms …

However, it is equally important to point out that the conditional-aid attempt by the West to encourage democratic governance coincided with the African citizenry's increased demand for political and economic reform and their rejection of government corruption, harassment of the press and human rights abuse.

New word
bipolar world having two poles or centres of power, a reference to the two superpowers during the Cold War

Source C *A cartoon from a Kenyan newspaper*, Daily Nation, *Nairobi, re-published in* The Sunday Times, *on 22 October 2006. The first frame refers to the economic reforms which the International Monetary Fund and World Bank forced many countries to adopt in return for loans, particularly in the 1980s.*

Source D *Part of a speech titled "Trade, Poverty and the Human Face of Globalisation", given to students at the London School of Economics, 16 June 2000, by Mike Moore, Director General of the World Trade Organisation from 1999 to 2002. (From:* http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/spmm_e/spmm32_e.htm)

We need to reassure people that globalisation is generally a force for good. The last 20 years have seen a dramatic rise in living standards for many countries across the world ...

Even so, critics of free trade argue that poor people within a country lose out when it **liberalises**. Not so. The new WTO study finds that the poor tend to benefit from the faster economic growth that trade liberalization brings.

Of course, in the short term some people do lose from globalisation. As trade barriers fall, foreign competition forces domestic firms to specialize in what they do best, rather than making goods which are more efficiently produced elsewhere. Those who are no longer gainfully employed have to find new jobs. Some are fat cats grown rich from cozy deals with governments. But others are poor farmers who lose their subsidies or unskilled workers who lose their jobs and take time to find another one.

The temporary losses of a few should not prevent a country from reaping the much bigger – and permanent – gains from free trade. After all, the interests of candle makers were not allowed to stop the introduction of electricity ... Freeing trade, like new technology, causes change. That is how it boosts economic growth. Some of us lose at first, but eventually we all gain.

New word

liberalise
adopts free market economic policies; abandons state controls over the economy

Source E *A cartoon by Zapiro, published in* The Times *on 10 November 2009, commemorates the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall*

These summaries of the key issues discussed in the different topics will help you when you do revision of all your work in Term 4 in preparation for the final exam.

TOPIC 1

Global international relations between 1945 and 1991 were dominated by the Cold War. This was the result of the ideological struggle between two world superpowers, the capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. Open global warfare between them was prevented because both possessed nuclear weapons, the use of which would destroy the world. However, many localised conflicts took place.

Origins of the Cold War

- Breakdown of the alliance formed between the Soviet Union and the United States in the Second World War after their common enemy, Nazi Germany, was defeated.
- Tension between the Western (US, British, French) and Soviet zones in occupied Germany led to the division of Berlin and Germany.
- Soviet backing of Communist Party political takeover in eastern European states, such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, created a Soviet sphere of influence.
- US financial aid to western Europe under the Marshall Plan created an American sphere of influence.
- Creation of two competing military alliances: NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Who was to blame for the Cold War?

Historians have different opinions:

- Soviet historians claimed the Soviet Union (SU) was acting defensively against American intervention in Europe which threatened to isolate the Soviet Union.
- Western historians argued that the West needed to contain Soviet influence which prevented democratic government in eastern Europe.
- Revisionist historians in the West argued that the West exaggerated the Soviet threat in order to advance its own economic and political interests.
- Post-revisionist historians argue that both sides had genuine concerns.

The Cold War spread outside Europe

- China became a Communist state (1949) initially allied to the Soviet Union.
- Communist takeover and American reaction led to war in Korea (1950–3) and Vietnam (1954–75) and the split of each region between a communist North and US-allied South.
- The Cuban revolution (1959) led to US hostility and Soviet support of Cuba. Open warfare between the US and SU was narrowly avoided during the Cuban missiles crisis (1962).

Case studies of the extension of the Cold War

1. China

- Became a communist state under Mao in 1949.
- Maoism deviated from Soviet communist orthodoxy (1950s) by emphasising rural

change rather than industrial development.
- The Cultural Revolution (1966–9) aimed to purify the revolution in the countryside, but destroyed China's intellectual and industrial classes.
- In the 1960s Maoist 'deviations' and Soviet criticisms led to a split between China and SU and tension existed between China and the US over China's support for North Korea, its claims to Taiwan and its control over Tibet.
- In the 1970s closer links between China and the US took place as Cold War rivalries lessened.
- After Mao's death (1976) China began to liberalise its economy although it made no political reforms.
- After the end of the Cold War in 1991 China became a major world economic power.

2. Vietnam
- Opposition to French colonial rule in the late 1940s and 1950s was led by the Viet Minh, supported by Soviet Union and China.
- After defeat at Dien Bien Phu (1954) the French left but independent Vietnam was divided between North Vietnam ruled by the Viet Minh under Ho Chi Minh and South Vietnam ruled by the anti-communist Ngo Dinh Diem.
- Resistance to Diem was supported by Viet Cong guerrillas who aimed to unite Vietnam under communist rule.
- The US sent troops and weapons to support South Vietnam against the Viet Cong in the bitterly fought Vietnam War (1965–75). This was one of the key conflicts of the Cold War.
- The US was defeated and withdrew in 1975. Vietnam became a communist state but after the end of the Cold War in 1991 it has, like China, made some capitalist economic reforms.

TOPIC 2

Newly independent African states adopted different ideas and approaches
- Some followed socialist ideas (Mozambique) and some adapted socialism to African circumstances (Tanzania).
- Some followed capitalist ideas (Kenya, Senegal).
- Some were multi-party democracies (Kenya) but many became one-party states either because they followed the example of Soviet-style communism (Mozambique) or because they believed it gave greater political stability and debate should take place within the ruling party (Tanzania).

The Congo (Zaire)
- Was divided after independence between Lumumba's centralised government and the breakaway provinces of Katanga and Kasai, leading to Belgian and UN military intervention.
- Lumumba appealed to the USSR and was murdered by his opponents (1961).
- Mobuto seized power (1965) and set up an autocratic dictatorship, supported by the US and Western powers.
- Mobuto was overthrown in 1997 after the end of the Cold War.

Tanzania
- Became a one party state under TANU led by Julius Nyerere.

- In the Arusha Declaration (1967) Nyerere introduced the policy of African socialism based on the development of rural areas in collectivised villages or *ujamaa.*
- But African socialism policy faced problems of peasant resistance to collectivisation and falling prices for cash crops in world markets.
- Poverty levels did not lessen and African socialism was abandoned in the 1980s.

Independent Congo and Tanzania compared

- Tanzania had a more gradual preparation by Britain for independence than the Congo where Belgium left rapidly and with no support to the new government.
- Tanzania under TANU was more politically stable than the Congo with its regional separatism and many competing political parties.
- Nyerere was a strong and highly respected leader in Tanzania, but in the Congo Lumumba was killed and Mobuto became an autocratic dictator.
- The Congo had considerable mineral wealth while Tanzania had an impoverished rural economy.
- The wealth of the Congo led to political separatism and the intervention of foreign power as a result of Cold War rivalries.
- The economies of both countries were dependent on world market prices and demand.
- Both countries carried out policies enabling Africans to obtain education and jobs in government and administration that were unavailable under colonial rule.
- Indigenous African cultures, knowledge systems and languages were encouraged in both countries.

Angola and the Cold War

- Was in a state of civil war at independence (1975) between MPLA (backed by Soviet bloc) and UNITA (backed by the West).
- Became a battle ground for Cold War rivalries, with surrogate powers of the superpowers involved: Cuban troops (financed by the Soviets) supported MPLA and South African troops (backed by the West) supported UNITA.
- A turning point was the battle of Cuito Cuanavale (1987–8) which led to the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops.
- The end of the Cold War in 1991 resulted in the end of foreign interference in Angola.

TOPIC 3

Mass protest movements in civil society were prominent in the Western world from the 1960s and 1970s because of:

- social changes such as the increasing number of women entering paid employment outside the home
- development of a youth culture critical of older generations
- reaction against the militarism of the Cold War era
- growing awareness of social injustices such as racism and human rights violations.

Key civil protest movements

Women's movements:

- started in the USA in the 1960s as a call for legal equality for women
- were radicalised by feminist activists in the Women's Liberation movement
- spread to other parts of the world but remained largely a middle-class movement in industrialised societies
- in South Africa women played a key role in civil protests, such as trade unions, the anti-pass campaigns, the Black Sash protests against unjust laws, but were divided by class and race.

Peace movements: reactions against Cold War militarism, nuclear disarmament campaigns, anti-Vietnam war protests.

Student movements: called for greater democracy in higher education, spread to wider social issues such as civil rights and anti-racism, and anti-Vietnam war. This climaxed in widespread protests in 1968.

US Civil Rights Movement:

- organised protests against segregation and discrimination against African Americans in the US South in the 1950s using tactics of passive resistance and civil disobedience
- grew under the leadership of Martin Luther King Jr with major campaigns in the 1960s
- ended segregation in the US South but failed to bring about meaningful economic or social changes.

Black Power Movement:

- took up cause of black economic, social and political disempowerment in US North and South
- leaders such as Stokely Carmichael and Malcom X developed the philosophy of Black Pride and Black Power rather than seeking incorporation into white American society
- Black Panthers organised more militant resistance to discrimination
- Increased African American morale and assertiveness but militant tactics alienated other Americans.

Overall gains of these movements included key reforms and greater public awareness of civil rights, but did not fundamentally challenge the existing political, social and economic structures of the West.

TOPIC 4

In the 1970s and 1980s apartheid came under threat from:

Black Consciousness

- Was concerned with ideas of black pride and self-organisation; developed by Steve Biko and the BCM; influenced by Black Power movement in the USA.
- Gave new impetus to black resistance, e.g. Soweto uprising, stay-aways.
- Led to formation of new political organisations (e.g. AZAPO).
- Influenced a new generation of black students, writers, intellectuals and activists.

Inherent structural problems by 1980s

- Contradictions between demands of employers and the lack of skilled labour, break-down of pass system.
- Growing power of labour movements and trade unions.
- Led to limited reforms by the state, including greater recognition of urban residence rights and representation of coloureds and Indians in the tricameral parliament.

Internal resistance to reforms

- Trade union opposition and strikes.
- Township revolt led by community civic organisations.
- Formation of umbrella movements such as the UDF and the MDM.
- Protests by student and middle-class movements (e.g. ECC, Black Sash).

International protests against apartheid

- Organisation of boycotts in Europe and USA against South African goods, sporting and cultural links.
- Call for economic sanctions and disinvestment by international trade unions and anti-apartheid movements which adversely affected the SA economy.
- Call for release of political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela, and unbanning of liberation movements.
- Guerrilla bases established by liberation organisations operating from neighbouring states (e.g. Zimbabwe, Mozambique).

TOPIC 5

Major changes took place in South Africa in the 1990s with the end of apartheid and the introduction of democracy.

Negotiated settlement

- Caused by pressure of internal resistance and international sanctions in the context of the end of the Cold War.
- Prepared by secret negotiations with ANC in exile and Nelson Mandela in prison in late 1980s.
- Started with unbanning of liberation organisations and release of Mandela in 1990.
- Groote Schuur Minute opened way; Pretoria Minute ANC gave up armed struggle and government ended State of Emergency.
- Multi-party negotiations started at CODESA (1991–92).

Problems with CODESA

- Differences in goals: ANC wanted majority rule, NP wanted protection of minority rights, Inkatha wanted federal system.
- Ongoing violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters and activities of 'third force' in townships.
- Opposition to negotiation compromises from Conservative Party, PAC and AZAPO.
- Killings in Boipatong and Bisho massacre led to collapse of CODESA (1992).

Resumption of negotiations

- Both sides make concessions in Record of Understanding.
- Government of National Unity (GNU) to rule for 5 years after elections.
- CODESA II formed, agreement to Interim Constitution with proportional representation, provincial governments and Bill of Rights (1993).
- Date for election set (1994).
- Continued violence and opposition from homeland leaders and Inkatha (COSAG group).
- But AWB invasion of Bophutatswana defeated, homeland leaders backed down and Inkatha joined election at last moment.

Democracy introduced

- 1994 election gave reconciliatory result; ANC majority with NP and Inkatha in GNU.
- New Constitution and Bill of Rights adopted (1996).

Remembering the past and goal of reconciliation TRC:

- TRC established (1995) to uncover truth about the past and encourage reconciliation through restorative justice.
- Amnesty given to perpetrators who fully confessed and proved they had acted on political grounds.
- TRC publicised atrocities but many perpetrators not convicted and reparations to victims were limited.
- ANC and NP both lodged objections to draft report but final report accepted by government (1998).

Memorials:

- Past monuments and memorials not removed.
- New memorials added at national level (e.g. Freedom Park) and local level (e.g. Thokoza) emphasising common struggles for freedom and downplaying differences.

TOPIC 6

The end of the Cold War

Background

- Economic problems in USSR and draining of resources because of the war in Afghanistan led to reforms under Gorbachev (*glasnost* and *perestroika*) in 1985.
- Reforms led to better relations with West but economic hardship and growing criticism of Communist government in USSR.
- Call for change in Eastern Europe inspired by changes in USSR and challenge of Solidarity worker movement in Poland.

1989

- March: Gorbachev warned E European governments they cannot rely on USSR sup-

port.
- May–June: popular protests and democratic elections in Hungary and Poland.
- November: fall of Berlin Wall.
- Overthrow of communist governments in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania.

Disintegration of USSR

- Nationalist movements and breakaway of Baltic Republics.
- Continued economic problems and weakened Communist government.
- Conservative coup against Gorbachev failed but weakened his position in favour of 'people's power' led by Boris Yeltsin.
- Example of changes in Eastern Europe and loss of Soviet influence.
- USSR replaced by Commonwealth of Independent States (1991).

Impact on South Africa

- End of Cold War means SA no longer important to West as anti-communist ally, West puts pressure on SA to negotiate with ANC.
- NP government no longer feared communist-controlled ANC.
- ANC lost aid from USSR and more ready to negotiate.
- These external factors combined with internal protests led to unbanning of liberation movement by De Klerk (February 1990).

New world order after the Cold War

- Domination of US capitalist economic system and increased globalisation.
- Withdrawal of superpower aid in Africa and demands for democratic political changes.
- Increasing North-South economic divide but rapid economic growth in China and India and new South-South trading partnerships (e.g. BRICS).

Globalisation

- Increased global influence of Western capitalism through IMF, World Bank and WTO over government policies in developing countries.
- IT 'information revolution' increased global communications but also increased gaps between rich and poor.
- Civil resistance to global capitalism.
- Some emerging economies practice 'state capitalism' as alternative to free market capitalism (e.g. China).
- Call for reforms to IMF and global economic institutions.
- Economic insecurity with cycles of boom and bust.
- Nationalist, political extremist and religious fundamentalist movements grew in opposition to globalisation leading in some cases to violence and conflict (e.g. ethnic genocide and breakup of Yugoslavia, 9/11 attacks on USA).

South Africa in a new world order

- Mandela's policy of reconciliation avoided civil war but economic and social divisions remained.
- GEAR policy replaced RDP (1996) based on free market capitalist principles, opposed by trade unions.
- Developmental state but problems of high unemployment and debates over land ownership and nationalisation of key resources.

Rubrics for assessment

NAME:

PRESENTATION CONTENT	LEVEL 7 Well-planned and structured essay. Good synthesis of information. Developed an original, well-balanced and independent line of argument with the use of evidence, sustained and defended the argument throughout.	LEVEL 6 Well-planned and structured essay. Relevant line of argument. Evidence used to defend the argument.	LEVEL 5 Well-planned and structured essay. Developed a clear argument. Conclusions drawn from evidence. Independent conclusion. Evidence used to support the conclusion.	LEVEL 4 Planned and construcuted an argument. Evidence used to support argument. Conclusions reached based on evidence.	LEVEL 3 Shows some evidence of a planned and constructed argument. Attempts to sustain a line of argument. Conclusions not clearly supported by evidence.	LEVEL 2 Attempts to structure an answer. Largely descriptive, or some attempt at developing an argument.	LEVEL 1 Little or no attempt to structure essay.
LEVEL 7 Question has been answered. Content selection fully relevant in line with argument.	47–50	43–46					
LEVEL 6 Question has been answered. Content selection relevant in line with argument.	43–46	40–42	38–39				
LEVEL 5 Question answered to a great extent. Content adequately covered and relevant.	38–39	36–37	34–35	30–33			
LEVEL 4 Question is recognisable in answer. Some omissions or irrelevant content selection.			30–33	28–29	26–27		
LEVEL 3 Content selection does relate to the question, but does not answer it, or does not always relate to the question. Omissions in coverage.				26–27	24–25	20–23	
LEVEL 2 Question inadequately addressed. Sparse content.					20–23	18–19	15–17
LEVEL 1 Question inadequately addressed or not at all. Inadequate or irrelevant content.						15–17	0–13

TOTAL: [50]

Rubric for research essay

NAME:

	9–10 marks	7–8 marks	5–6 marks	3–4 marks	1–2 marks	Mark out of 10
Thoroughness and accuracy of content	Excellent research, all areas of content thoroughly covered	Thorough research but some omissions in coverage	Fair research, but omissions in coverage and in places superficial	Poor research, large omissions in coverage, generally superficial	Little evidence of research, insubstantial coverage	
Selection and synthesis of material	Excellent selection and synthesis of relevant content; applies knowledge effectively and constructs logical and coherent arguments	Information is well selected and relevant; knowledge is appropriately drawn together and logically developed	Good selection of mostly relevant content and ideas well organised; argument easy to follow	Content not well sorted; some irrelevant information included; argument rather unclear	Little attempt to control the material; too little content or mostly irrelevant; jumbled argument	
Analytical insight	Perceptive understanding of the main issues; gives nuanced perspectives	Understanding of main issues with some insightful awareness	General understanding of main issues; too much description and little insight	Poor awareness of the main issues; too much description; not enough analysis	Largely descriptive of events with little or no analysis	
Construction of answer (grammar, sentence structure, paragraphs)	Excellent expression and logical structuring	Expression clear with careful construction of sentences and paragraph; some minor errors	Some errors in expression, an attempt made to structure material carefully	Poor expression, jumbling of ideas, incomplete sentence structure	Weak expression with little or n=o attempt to structure work	
Referencing and bibliography	Thorough referencing throughout; excellent choice of reading material; bibliography set out accurately	Good referencing throughout; uneven choice of reading material; bibliography clear but includes some errors	Fair referencing throughout; could have read more useful sources of information; bibliography incorrectly set out but thorough	Little referencing; poor selection of sources of information; bibliography incomplete or sloppy	No referencing; too few sources consulted and not very useful choices; partial or no bibliography	

TOTAL: [50]

Grade 12 History

EXEMPLAR MID-YEAR EXAMINATION PAPER 1 (TOPICS 1 and 2)

Time: 3 hours
Total: 100 marks

Instructions:

1 This question paper consists of FOUR questions.
  Questions 1 and 3: The Cold War
  Questions 2 and 4: Independent Africa.
2 Questions 1 and 2 are source-based questions.
3 Questions 3 and 4 are essay questions.
4 Each question is worth 50 marks.
5 You must answer ONE source-based and ONE essay question.

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Choose ONE question from Section A. Refer to the sources in the Addendum to answer the questions in Section A.

QUESTION 1: THE COLD WAR [Focus: Origins]

Key question: What were the origins of the Cold War between 1945 and 1948?

Study Sources 1A, 1B and 1C and answer these questions:

1.1 According to Source 1A, what was Stalin's attitude towards the West? Quote words from the source to substantiate your answer. (4×1) (4)

1.2 Explain what Churchill means by a 'new front' in Source 1B. What is the implication of his use of the word 'front'? (2×2) (4)

1.3 Read Source 1C. Using the information in the source and your own understanding of this period, explain why Truman was concerned about the situation in the West at the time. (4×1) (4)

1.4 In Sources 1A, 1B, and 1C, all three leaders (Stalin, Churchill and Truman) use emotive language. Explain what they would hope to achieve by doing this. Suggest THREE reasons. (2×3) (6)

Study Sources 1D and 1E and answer these questions:

1.5 According to Source 1D, what was the main aim of the Marshall Plan? (4×1) (4)

1.6 To what extent does Source 1E offer an alternative view of the purpose of the Marshall Plan? (4×1) (4)

1.7 According to the information in Source 1E, explain why Stalin was suspicious of the Marshall Plan. (4×1) (4)

1.8 Explain why Sources 1D and 1E give such different interpretations of the American policy in

Europe after the Second World War. (2×3) (6)

1.9 Which of the two sources (1D or 1E) is more reliable for historians who want to analyse the purposes of Marshall Aid? Explain your answer by referring to both sources. (2×3) (6)

Study Source 1 F and answer these questions:

1.10 Study Source 1F. What message is the cartoonist trying to put across about the Marshall Plan? Use the information in the captions to support your answer. (4×1) (4)

1.11 In what ways is this cartoon an example of Cold War propaganda? Refer to TWO visual elements in the cartoon to support your answer. (4×1) (4)

[50]

QUESTION 2: INDEPENDENT AFRICA [Focus: Africa in the Cold War: Angola]

Key question: Did foreign intervention aggravate (worsen) the crisis in Angola during the Cold War?

Study Source 2A and answer these questions:

2.1 Use your understanding of the situation that developed in Angola at the end of the struggle against Portuguese rule in Angola to explain why the USA feared 'the possibility of an MPLA victory', as referred to at the start of Source 2A. (4×1) (4)

2.2 According to Source 2A, how much did the USA spend in the Angolan civil war and why did the USA keep their support of UNITA a secret? (3×1) (3)

2.3 Use your understanding of the reasons for South Africa's involvement in Angola to explain what is meant in the last line of Source 2A. (3×1) (3)

Study Source 2B and answer these questions:

2.4 What is the main message of this speech? Write down two points in your answer. (2×2) (4)

2.5 Explain whether this speech is a reliable source of evidence for an historian studying the conflict in Angola. (Comment on who made it and how this affects its bias, and on how it is expressed.) (5×1) (5)

Study Source 2C and answer these questions:

2.6 Explain why the cartoonist chose to include both the cigar and the hammer and sickle symbol (on the ring). (2×2) (4)

2.7 What interpretation of foreign communist intervention in Africa does this cartoon convey? Explain your answer by referring to the cartoon. (2×2) (4)

Study Source 2D and answer these questions:

2.8 How does Source 2D refute (go against) the argument that the USA entered into the Angolan crisis as a result of Cuban intervention? (2×1) (2)

2.9 How does the fact that Source 2D is found on a website called www.socialistworker.org influence your understanding of what it says? (3×1) (3)

2.10 Identify another source that best corroborates (backs up) what is said in Source 2D and identify the two main issues on which they both agree. (3×1) (3)

Use all the sources to answer these questions:

2.11 Use these sources to explain why secondary sources are not necessarily more balanced and neutral

than primary sources. You answer will be assessed according to the table on the next page. (8)

2.12 Use only the information in the sources to build an argument to support the view that Cold War politics aggravated the civil war in Angola (made it worse). Your answer will be marked according to the table on the next page. (8)

[50]

Table for assessing Question 2.11

Level	The learner	Marks out of 8
3	Distinguishes between the primary and secondary sources given and, through an articulate analysis of the techniques used in the sources, has explained why they are not neutral or balanced.	6–8
2	Is a bit vague about which sources are primary and which are secondary and / or the analysis of the sources does not sufficiently address the issue of why they are not neutral or does not refer to all the sources.	3–5
1	Does not understand the question and has not used the sources effectively to answer the issue of neutrality. Has simply written out the sources and not constructed his or her own analysis.	1–2

Table for assessing Question 2.12

Level	The learner	Marks out of 8
3	Has constructed an articulate and convincing argument based solely on the information in the sources. Relevant information from the sources has been extracted and integrated effectively. The learner is able to synthesize the information to highlight the over-arching issues.	7–8
2	Has extracted relevant information from the sources but does not construct a well written argument. The analysis remains disjointed and shows little awareness of the over-arching issues.	4–6
1	Does not understand the question and / or has not used the sources effectively to answer the question posed. And/ or the learner has simply written out parts of the sources and has not constructed his or her own analysis.	1–3

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Choose ONE question from Section B.

Your essay should be about 900 - 1000 words.

QUESTION 3: THE COLD WAR [Focus: Either China or Vietnam]

3.1 How did China's emergence as a world power influence the Cold War?
[50]

OR

3.2 'The United States was rightly criticized for intervening in Vietnam. It was a war far away from their borders and they had no right to get involved.'

In the light of this statement explain why the United States became involved in this conflict and why they failed to win the war.
[50]

QUESTION 4: INDEPENDENT AFRICA [Focus: Successes and challenges faced by Congo and Tanzania]

4 How successfully did the Congo and Tanzania deal with the challenges of independence between 1960 and 1980? How do you explain the differences between them in this regard? **[50]**

EXEMPLAR MID-YEAR EXAMINATION PAPER 1 ADDENDUM

SOURCES FOR QUESTION 1: THE COLD WAR [Focus: Origins]

Key question: What were the origins of the Cold War between 1945 and 1948?

Source 1A *Stalin explains his attitude towards the West. (From A.C. Morales*, East Meets West, *Macmillan Education Australia, 1992, page 204)*

> The Western states send spies, assassins and wreckers into our country. They are just waiting for a chance to attack it with armed force. We must remember that we are surrounded by people who hate us. At all times we are just a hair's breadth away from invasion. We must take every chance to get rid of non-communist governments in other states.

Source 1B *This is an extract from a letter written by Churchill to Roosevelt shortly after the three Allied leaders (Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin) had met at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. As the Red Army moved westwards to liberate Europe from Nazi control, the Soviet Union occupied countries in Eastern Europe. (Quoted in Ben Walsh*, Modern World History, *John Murray, London, 2001, page 320)*

> The Soviet Union has become a danger to the free world. A new front must be created against her onward sweep. This front should be as far east as possible. A settlement must be reached on all major issues between West and East in Europe before the armies of democracy melt.

Source 1C *A second meeting to discuss the organisation of post-war Europe was held in July 1945 at Potsdam in Germany. This time the 'Big Three' were Truman (instead of Roosevelt), Attlee (instead of Churchill) and Stalin. (From A.C. Morales*, East Meets West, *Macmillan Education Australia, 1992, page 204)*

> Truman later wrote that at Potsdam, 'the personal meeting with Stalin and the Russians… enabled me to see at first hand what we in the West had to face in the future… Force is the only thing the Russians understand'.

Source 1D *In 1948, the US introduced the Marshall Plan, giving $16 billion to help the countries of Western Europe re-build their war-torn economies. George Marshall was the American Secretary of State. Here he explains his view of the purpose of Marshall Aid. (Quoted in B.J. Elliot*, World History since 1900, *Nelson Thornes, London, 1986, page 57)*

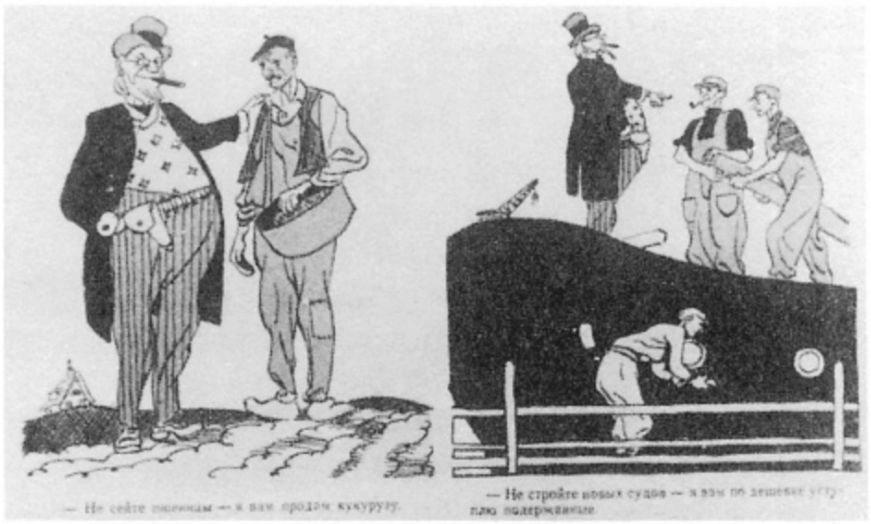
The United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

Source 1E *Writing in 2001, a British historian gives his view of the Marshall Plan. (From Ben Walsh*, Modern World History, *John Murray, London, 2001, page 330)*

On the one hand, Marshall Aid was an extremely generous act by the American people. On the other hand, it was also motivated by American self-interest. They wanted to create new markets for American goods. The Americans remembered the disastrous effects of the depression of the 1930s and Truman wanted to do all he could to prevent another world slump.

Stalin viewed Marshall Aid with suspicion. After expressing some initial interest, he refused to have anything more to do with it. He also forbade any of the eastern European states to apply for Marshall Aid. Stalin's view was that the anti-Communist aims behind Marshall Aid would weaken his hold on eastern Europe. He also felt that the USA was trying to dominate as many states as possible by making them dependent on dollars.

Source 1F *A Soviet cartoon from 1948 (with translated captions). The large figure with a top hat and cigar is Uncle Sam, symbolising the USA. (Found in Peter Mantin*, Questions of Evidence: The Twentieth Century World, *Hutchinson Education, London, 1987, page 31)*



Do not sow seed.
I will sell you maize.

Do not build new shipyards.
I will sell you old ones cheaply.

Why do you want to strengthen your currency?
Why don't you try mine?

It is difficult to carry out your policy?
Carry out ours!

SOURCES FOR QUESTION 2: INDEPENDENT AFRICA [Focus: Africa in the Cold War: Angola]

Key question: Did foreign intervention aggravate (worsen) the crisis in Angola during the Cold War?

Source 2A *This extract discusses the involvement of the USA in the Angolan war. It is from* C. Bledowska and J. Bloch, KGB CIA Intelligence and Counter Intelligence Operations, *Bison Books, London, 1987, page 94. The CIA, or Central Intelligence Agency, is the American secret service which played a key role in promoting American interests in other parts of the world during the Cold War.*

Worried about the possibility of an MPLA victory, the administration of President Gerald Ford authorized the CIA to spend $32 million in support of the two other groups. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, insisted that absolute secrecy be maintained, since there were legal obstacles to providing military assistance to insurgents, and overt aid would lead to 'unimaginable and overt confrontation with the Soviet Union.' ... Almost half the total sum was reportedly spent on providing arms and equipment. Support for UNITA in the South was largely left to the South Africans, with the encouragement of the CIA.

Source 2B *An extract from a speech by Fidel Castro, the leader of Communist Cuba, in Havana, April 1976. (Quoted in D. Deutschmann (ed.)* Changing the History of Africa, *Ocean Press, Melbourne, 1989)*

In Angola, the imperialists, the racists, the aggressors symbolized by the CIA, the South African troops and the white mercenaries, did not win victory nor did they occupy the country; victory was won by those who were attacked, the revolutionaries, the black and heroic people of Angola. The imperialists could not dismember the country or divide up its wealth. Angola is united, integrated, and today is a bulwark of liberty and dignity in Africa. The swastika of the South African racists does not fly over the palace of Luanda.

Source 2C *A cartoon drawn by a South African, Fred Mouton, which was published in* Die Burger, *1976.* Die Burger *generally supported the policies of the National Party and therefore the actions of the South African government. It shows a large Soviet hand (with a hammer and sickle on the ring) dropping ash from a cigar (for which Cuba is famous) into the ashtray of Africa.*

Source 2D *Extract from an article called 'They fuelled a Savage War: US Operation in Angola exposed' by Elizabeth Schulte published in www.socialistworker.org accessed in 2004.*

Recently declassified documents have exposed the US government's bloody role in the decades-long civil war in Angola. More than half a million Angolans were killed and an estimated 4 million – nearly one third of the country's population- were forced to flee their homes. The US government led the way in pouring fuel on the fire. It spent millions to support UNITA 'rebels' against the new government ... which was seen as 'communist' because of it received limited support from Cuba and the former USSR. The US has long admitted that it sponsored covert (secret) operations in Angola, but always claimed that it was responding to an airlift of Cuban soldiers into the country to support the MPLA. But US documents released last month show the truth – that the Ford administration intervened in Angola weeks before Cuban forces landed.

Grade 12 History

EXEMPLAR MID-YEAR EXAMINATION PAPER 2 (TOPICS 4 and 5)

Time: 2½ hours
Total: 100 marks

Instructions:

1 This question paper consists of FOUR questions.
  Questions 1 and 3: Civil resistance in South Africa 1970s to 1980s
  Questions 2 and 4: The coming of democracy in South Africa
2 Questions 1 and 2 are source-based questions.
3 Questions 3 and 4 are essay questions.
4 Each question is worth 50 marks.
5 You must answer ONE source-based and ONE essay question.

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Choose ONE question from Section A. Refer to the sources in the Addendum to answer the questions in Section A.

QUESTION 1: CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA 1970s TO 1980s [Focus: Black Consciousness in the 1970s]

Key question: How influential was Black Consciousness in the 1970s?

Study Sources 1A to 1C and answer these questions:

1.1 What aspects of Black Consciousness thinking does Source 1A emphasise? (3×1) (3)
1.2 Who is the writer of Source 1A and why is it important to notice this? (3×1) (3)
1.3 What role did Black Consciousness have according to Source 1B? (2×1) (2)
1.4 1.4.1 Does Source 1C argue that Black Consciousness had a widespread influence? Explain your answers. (2×2) (4)
  1.4.2 Using your understanding of the context explain what Source 1C means when it refers to 'SASO's efforts'. (3×1) (3)
1.5 Sources 1A to 1C are primary sources as they were written at the time being studied. From these three sources, does it seem that people at the time thought that Black Consciousness played an

influential role? (Your answer should be written in a well structured paragraph and be about 80 words long.) This question will be assessed according to the table on the next page.
(6)

Use Sources 1D and 1E and your knowledge to answer these questions.

1.6 Both the caption of Source 1D and the body of Source 1E refer to Frantz Fanon. Who was he and how is he relevant to this section? (2×2) (4)

1.7 Explain to what Source 1E refers when it speaks of 'decolonizing the mind' and explain how this influenced Biko's philosophy. (Use your own knowledge and the information in Source 1D to back up your answer). (5×1) (5)

Table for assessment of Question 1.5

Level	The learner has:	Marks out of 6
3	Extracted relevant information from the three sources and made a convincing argument showing a range of ideas. Written a well-crafted paragraph and his or her expression is clear and accurate.	5–6
2	Extracted some evidence from the sources but has made an unconvincing argument. Expression and paragraph structure have some errors.	3–4
1	Misinterpreted the sources, or written out the sources word for word, or does not refer to the sources. Learner shows very little or no understanding of the issues involved. Little attempt to structure a paragraph or write accurately.	1–2

Study Sources 1D, 1E and 1F and then answer these questions:

1.8 Sources ID, IE and IF are all secondary sources. Explain why they are valuable to an historian studying the influence that Black Consciousness had. (2×2) (4)

1.9 Explain in what ways these sources are biased. (3×2) (6)

Study Sources 1F and 1G and then answer this question:

1.10 Compare the explanation of the influence of Black Consciousness on people in the 1970s as given in Sources 1F and 1G. (2×3) (6)

1.11 All the sources (1A to 1G) selected for this section are made by black commentators. Do you think this is appropriate? Explain your view.
(2×2) (4)
[50]

QUESTION 2 THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA [Focus: Negotiated settlement]

Key question: How did political differences threaten the negotiation process between 1990 and 1994?

Study Source 2A:

2.1 According to Source 2A, what were the:

2.1.1 economic problems (2×1) (2)

2.1.2 political problems facing South Africans in the early 1990s? (2×2) (4)

Study Sources 2B and 2C:

2.2 According to Sources 2B and 2C, what explanation does each source give for the actions of the

'third force'? (2×2) (4)

2.3 Why is studying these two sources together useful to get an understanding of the period? Refer to the writers of each source in your answer. (4×1) (4)

2.4 Which of Sources 2B and 2C do you think is more reliable? Explain your answer by referring to both sources. (2×2) (4)

Study Sources 2D and 2E:

2.5 According to Source 2D, what were the attitudes of the PAC and AZAPO towards
2.5.1 Mandela
2.5.2 negotiations? (2×2) (4)

2.6 Compare the attitudes towards the issue of land in Sources 2D and 2E and explain how this was likely to lead to conflict. (3×2) (6)

2.7 Explain why these two sources show such different perspectives about the same issue. (2×2) (4)

Study Source 2F to answer these questions:

2.8 How does the cartoonist suggest that the negotiations between the government and the ANC have not made much progress? (Refer to TWO visual clues in the cartoon in your answer.) (2×2) (4)

2.9 Explain the message of the cartoon in relation to the negotiation process. Refer to details in the cartoon to support your answer. (6×1) (6)

Use all the sources:

2.10 Use Sources 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D and 2E to explain how the negotiations in the 1990s were hampered by serious divisions within South African society. Your answer will be marked according to the table below.
(8)
[50]

Table for assessment of Question 2.10

Level	The learner	Marks out of 8
3	Has constructed an articulate and convincing argument based solely on the information in the sources. Relevant information from the sources has been extracted and integrated effectively. The learner is able to synthesize the information to highlight the overarching issues.	6–8
2	Has extracted relevant information from the sources but does not construct a well-written argument. The analysis remains disjointed and shows little awareness of the overarching issues.	3–5
1	Does not understand the question and/or has not used the sources effectively to answer the question posed and/ or the learner has simply written out parts of the sources and has not constructed his or her own analysis.	1–2

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Choose ONE question from Section B.

EITHER:

QUESTION 3: CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA 1970s TO 1980s [Focus: The nature of resistance in the 1980s]

'It was the mass-based and ongoing nature of resistance within South Africa in the 1980s that put so much pressure on the government that it was forced to change its policies.'

Analyse the types of protest that occurred within South African between 1983 and 1989 and assess in what ways it put pressure on the apartheid government.

[50]

OR:

QUESTION 4: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA [Focus: Negotiated settlement]

Explain how and why the negotiation process was nearly derailed on numerous occasions between 1990 and 1994 both because of disagreements about how the future South Africa should be governed and because of political violence in the country.
[50]

Grade 12 History

EXEMPLAR MID-YEAR EXAMINATION ADDENDUM

SOURCES FOR QUESTION 1: CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA 1970s TO 1980s [Focus: Black Consciousness in the 1970s]

Key question: How influential was Black Consciousness in the 1970s?

Source 1A *Steve Biko published in* The New Republic *7 January 1978, quoted in N. Barney Pityana, Mamphela Ramphele et al (eds)*, Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness, *David Philip, Cape Town, 1991, page 73. Biko is speaking about the youths of the Soweto uprising.*

The dramatic thing about the bravery of these youths is that they have now discovered, or accepted, what everybody knows: that the bond between life and death is absolute. You are either alive and proud or you are dead….

Source 1B *From Tebello Motapanyane 'How June 16 demo was planned'* Sechaba, *Vol. 11 (2) 1977. (Quoted in Baruch Hirson*, Year of Fire, Year of Ash: The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a Revolution, *Zed, London, 1979, page 285) Motapanyane was one of the Soweto student leaders in 1976 (Chair of the Student Action Committee) and went into exile afterwards.* Sechaba *is an ANC publication. This article was written in it the year after the uprising (1977).*

Black Consciousness as a concept did play a role in sensitizing the students…. We did not, however, believe that Black Consciousness on its own would lead us to liberation. It was a useful tool to sensitize students who were not as politically aware as they should have been.

Source 1C *Rev. Smangaliso P. Mkhatshwa, 1975, quoted in 'Putting the Black Rennaissance Convention into correct perspective'*, Reality, *May 1975*

Most of our people will agree that, thanks to SASO efforts, Black Consciousness has come to stay in South Africa. Because of the nature of its membership and composition, SASO only reached the educated and sophisticated segment of the population. Through its projects it is now gradually moving towards grass roots… Relatively small numbers of Blacks will join BPC.

Source 1D *Lou Turner and John Alan*, Frantz Fanon, Soweto & American Black Thought, *A News and Letters Publication, Chicago, 1986, page 22*

What is powerful and new about Biko's ideas is that he always centres the possibility for change within the subject of the oppressed, and not simply within the South African economy or in the hierarchy of the system.

Source 1E *This extract comes from the internet site promoting the Steve Biko Centre in the Eastern Cape. Found on http://www.sbf.org.za/Main_Site/steve_biko_centre.php (accessed 23 July 2012)*

The Steve Biko Centre in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province will be dedicated to the legacy of anti-apartheid activist Bantu Stephen Biko. 'Bantu' in the iSintu languages that are spoken in Southern Africa means 'people'. As a personal name, 'Bantu' means: 'the one for the people'.

True to his African name, Biko was a force around which congregated a generation, who helped redefine the manner in which Africans in South Africa, the continent and the Diaspora viewed themselves. Biko espoused the philosophy of black consciousness, which emphasized the link between consciousness of self and social action. This placed Biko among a breed of African thinkers universally who include W.E.B. Dubois, Aime Cesaire, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Amilcar Cabral, Cheik Anta Diop, Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon, among others. Many of them, whose contribution to 'decolonising the mind' had profound ramifications in the black world, were major influences in the evolution of Biko's thinking.

Source 1F *Keith Mokoape, Thenjiwe Mtintso and Welile Nhlapo reflect on the significance of the ideology of Black Consciousness. (From N. Barney Pityana et al (eds.)*, Bounds of Possibility: the Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness, *David Philip, Cape Town, 1991, page 112) All three were members or strong supporters of the Black Consciousness movement.*

The creation of SASO, its ideology of Black Consciousness, and the subsequent proliferation of Black Consciousness organisations radicalised the black youth in the 1970s. In their thousands, they joined the political struggle, and also injected a qualitatively new approach into the conduct of the armed struggle. It is to the eternal credit of Steve Biko that his colleagues never relented, but pursued with vigour the ideas which he formulated and they cherished. Today's imminent collapse of the racist regime owes much to Steve Biko's contribution.

Source 1G *Many of the young teachers in black schools had been members of SASO at university and this influenced the way they taught and their understanding of the students' needs. This comes from an interview with Fikile Ngcobo who was an English language teacher at Orlando West Junior Secondary School in 1976. The interview was done by Sifiso Ndlovu for the Hector Pieterson Museum, 15 July 2001 and found on* http://www.sadet.co.za/docs/RTD/vol2/Volume%202%20-%20chapter%207.pdf.

The much clearer political influence came with the Steve Bikos in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As much as I wasn't an active member of the Black Consciousness Movement, I believed strongly in it … I could understand the politics; I was reading the history… I was a teacher by then. I could understand the need for being proud of myself, being able to accept myself as I am and do things for myself and start being involved. So Biko's philosophy had a great bearing on me and how I then started applying myself as a working person, as a teacher and actually being able to listen to what students said, what younger people said, which direction they were taking, whether they believed in themselves as blacks.

SOURCES FOR QUESTION 2: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA [Focus: Negotiated settlement]

Key question: How did political differences threaten the negotiation process between 1990 and 1994?

Source 2A *Rich Mkhondo, a journalist, describes some of the problems facing South Africa in the early 1990s. (Quoted in Michael Morris*, Every Step of the Way: The Journey to Freedom in South Africa, *Cambridge University Press, Cape Town, 2004, page 252)*

Millions of blacks are caught in a spiral of landlessness, homelessness, unemployment and poverty. Add to that a clash between modern political structures and traditional tribal ones. Mix in a struggle for hegemony (power) in the region between major political players. Stir in the security forces in all their guises…Add faceless, apparently trained killers such as the 'third force'…Sprinkle all that with ancient and recent political and social grudges and you get a deadly brew.

Source 2B *A white sergeant in the security forces, in an interview in 1991. (Quoted in Christopher Culpin*, South Africa since 1948: A study in Depth, *John Murray, 2000, page 131)*

Over the years we have been drilled with 'The ANC are terrorists' and this and this and this… And now all of a sudden we've got to accept them as colleagues, which I find hard to accept. I mean, I won't accept that.

Source 2C *Chris Hani, secretary of the South African Communist Party, 1993. (Quoted in Catherine Bradley*, Causes and Consequences of the End of Apartheid, *Raintree Steck-Vaughn, 1996)*

It is crucial that the process [negotiations] is not allowed to slow down. We're facing a regime which, for all its deep crisis, has not been defeated. The powers of the security forces are intact and their strategy is de-stabilizing us by low-intensity warfare. The state orchestration of violence is indisputable.

Source 2D *Thlokie Mofokeng, a resident of Soweto, explains the attitude of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) towards the negotiations. (Quoted in Philip Bonner and Lauren Segal*, Soweto: A History, *Maskew Miller Longman, 1998, page 155)*

They did not condemn Mandela but they were very much against negotiations… They tried to make people believe that Mandela was a genuine political leader but he was, unfortunately, surrounded by the ANC which was too influenced by whites. They also said that the very people who own the land cannot help to distribute it. They said: 'You cannot negotiate to take back something that is yours. You must just take what belongs to you.'

Source 2E *Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB), in 1992. (Quoted in Christopher Culpin*, South Africa since 1948: A Study in Depth, *John Murray, 2000, page 128)*

No one dares take the land God gave us. We refuse to live under an ANC government. There will be war in South Africa. That day we will fight like our forefathers and we will fight until we win.

Source 2F *A cartoon made by Len Sak in 1991 which shows a soccer match between the government and the ANC during the CODESA talks. During extra time, the ANC (represented by 'Coach Mandela') is about to introduce a strong player called 'Mass Action' (on the back of his shirt). F.W. de Klerk looks on in the background. (Published in Harry Dugmore et al (eds),* Nelson Mandela: A Life in Cartoons, *David Philip Publishers, Claremont, 1999, page 100)*

Grade 12 History

EXEMPLAR SEPTEMBER EXAMINATION

Paper 1 (Topics 1, 2 and 3)

Note: The final external examination that you will write at the end of the year will have a similar structure to the September examination. The exemplar examination that follows will help you with your preparation for both of these exams.

Time: 3 hours
Total: 150 marks

Instructions:

1 This question paper consists of SIX (6) questions.
Questions 1 and 4
The Cold War: How did the Cold War period shape international relations after the Second World War?
Questions 2 and 5
Independent Africa: How was independence realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?
Questions 3 and 6
Civil society protests, 1950s to 1970s: What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1960s to 1990?
2 Each question counts 50 marks.
3 Candidates are required to answer THREE questions: ONE (1) source-based question, ONE (1) essay question and ONE (1) other, either an essay or a source-based question.
4 Learners may answer two questions on the same topic.
5 When candidates answer questions, they are required to demonstrate application of knowledge, skills and insight.
6 Rewriting of the sources as answers will be to the disadvantage of candidates.
7 Write neatly and legibly.

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question from Section A. Refer to the sources in the Addendum to answer the questions in Section A.

QUESTION 1: THE COLD WAR [Focus: Origins]

Key question: How and why did the Cold War begin?

1.1 *Study source 1A to answer the following question. The source includes two photographs of the leaders of the Grand Alliance who met at the end of the war to discuss the future of Germany.*
1.1.1 Use Source 1A and your own knowledge to explain how and why the leadership of the Grand Alliance changed between the two conferences. (6×1) (6)
1.1.2 Use your understanding of the context to explain why most of the people in the photograph taken at Yalta are wearing military uniforms, but at Potsdam they are wearing civilian clothing. (4×1) (4)
1.1.3 Explain how relations between the leaders of the Grand Alliance had deteriorated considerably by the time the Potsdam conference was held. (4×2) (8)

1.2 *Study Source 1B to answer the following questions:*
1.2.1 What is the aim of a political poster? (1×1) (1)
1.2.2 According to Source 1B, what message is being conveyed in each of the posters? (2×2) (4)
1.2.3 What is the value and what are the limitations of political posters as historical evidence? (2×2) (4)

1.3 *Study Source 1C to answer the following questions:*
1.3.1 What was the Truman Doctrine? (2×1)(2)
1.3.2 What does the author mean by referring to 'free peoples' and 'anti- communist'? (2×2) (4)
1.3.3 How does the author criticise the Truman Doctrine? (3×1) (3)
1.3.4 Do you think that that Source 1C is biased? Substantiate your answer. (3×1)(3)
1.3.5 Explain why Source 1C is a secondary source. (1×1) (1)

1.4 *Study Source 1D to answer the following questions:*

1.4.1 By comparing Source 1D with Source 1C, explain which of the two sources has more historical value. (3×1) (3)

1.4.2 Quote two reasons given by Truman in Source 1D that explain why countries become communist. (2×1) (2)

1.4.3 Explain what Truman thinks will happen next if Greece 'falls'. (1×1) (1)

1.4.4 Which of the two sources (Source 1C or Source 1D) is more reliable in showing Cold War propaganda? Refer to both sources in your answer. (2×2) (4)

[50]

QUESTION 2: INDEPENDENT AFRICA [Focus: Africa in the Cold War: Angola]

Key question: How was Angola affected by the Cold War?

2.1 *Study Source 2A to answer the following questions:*

2.1.1 According to Source 2A, what had contributed to the high death toll in Angola since 1975?

2.1.2 Use your understanding of the historical context and the information in the(1×1) (1)
source to indicate who was to blame for the conflict in Angola. (2×1) (2)

2.1.3 Provide evidence from the source to explain why it was possible for the MPLA and UNITA to keep up this war. (3×1) (3)

2.1.4 Would you consider Source 2A to be a reliable historical source? Explain your answer in full. (3×1) (3)

2.2 *Study Source 2B to answer the following questions:*

2.2.1 The content of Source 2B comes from a well-known internet encyclopaedia. Would you consider this to be a reliable historical source? Justify your answer thoroughly. (2×2) (4)

2.2.2 Explain how, according to the source, Africa became involved in the Cold War. Provide a quotation from the source to substantiate your answer. (2×2) (4)

2.2.3 What do you think the author of Source 2B meant by: '...due to heavy intervention by major opposing powers such as the Soviet Union and the United States'?

(2×1)(2)

2.3 *Study Source 2C to answer the following questions:*

2.3.1 To which historical battle in Angola does Source 2C refer? (1×1) (1)

2.3.2 By referring to information provided in Source 2C, as well as your understanding of the context, give a short account of this battle (referred to in question 2.3.1). (3×2) (6)

2.3.3 What does the word 'offensive', in the context of the source, actually mean? (2×1) (2)

2.3.4 Taking your background knowledge of the Cold War and the influence it had around the globe into consideration, explain what impact this battle, referred to in Source 2C, had on the region and the superpowers involved. (4×2) (8)

2.4 *Study Source 2D to answer the following questions:*

2.4.1 Who was Jonas Savimbi? (1×1) (1)

2.4.2 Quote from the source to explain why the United Nations blamed Savimbi for 'wrecking international peace efforts'. (2×1) (2)

2.5 *Study Source 2E to answer the following questions:*

2.5.1 Why, do you think, did US exports to Africa increase during the period 1960 to 1976?

2.5.2 How useful is Source 2E for learning about American trade with Africa during the(2×1) (2)
Cold War period? (2×1) (2)

2.6 *Study Source 2F to answer the following questions:*

2.6.1 Would you consider Source 2F to be a reliable historical source for you as a student of history? Validate your answer. (3×1) (3)

2.6.2 Use Source 2F to explain whether 'there was no great Soviet strategy for taking over Africa'. (1×1) (1)

2.6.3 Angola and Mozambique were both colonies of which country? (3×1) (3)

[50]

QUESTION 3: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS, 1950s TO 1970s [Focus: The Civil Rights Movement]

Key question: How did the philosophy of passive resistance influence the Civil Rights Movement?

3.1 *Study Source 3A to answer the following questions:*

3.1.1 Quote from Source 3A to prove that Martin Luther King was influenced by the passive resistance ideas of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. (2×1) (2)

3.1.2 Explain the evidence there is in Source 3A, as well as in the photograph in Source 3D, that supporters of the Civil Rights Movement were opposed to violence. (2×2) (4)

3.1.3 According to Source 3A, what was Martin Luther King's view on the civil rights conflict at the time in the USA? Quote words from the source to support your answer. (2×1) (2)

3.1.4 Use your understanding of the historical context and the information in the source to explain what the phrase 'injustice of segregation' means. (3×1) (3)

3.1.5 Explain the value of Source 3A as a historical source in terms of:
- bias
- limitations, and
- accuracy. (3×2) (6)

3.2 *Study Source 3B to answer the following questions:*

3.2.1 What, according to Source 3B, was the outcome of the Freedom Rides? (1×1) (1)

3.2.2 Explain what the Freedom Rides were. (2×1) (2)

3.2.3 According to Source 3B, where did the Freedom Rides take place? (2×1) (2)

3.2.4 Explain the significance of the fact that both black and white young people took part in the Freedom Rides. (2×2) (4)

3.3 *Study Source 3C to answer the questions on the next page:*

3.3.1 How reliable are photographs as historical evidence? Explain your answer in full. (3×1) (3)

3.3.2 According to Source 3C, how dangerous was it for these nine students to go to a school in a white suburb in the south of the USA? Quote from the source to support your answer. (2×1) (2)

3.3.3 Use the information in Source 3C to describe the nature and the extent of the reaction of the angry protesters and the students in the school. (3×2) (6)

3.3.4 Study the photograph in Source 3D2 carefully. Explain the contrast in attitude between the black student (Elizabeth Eckford) and the white students surrounding her. (3×1) (3)

3.4 *Study Source 3D to answer the following questions:*

3.4.1 By comparing the information in Source 3A with the image and information in Source 3D, assess how effectively the students in Source 3D put Martin Luther King's words into action. (2×1) (2)

3.4.2 How reliable is Source 3D1 as evidence of the extent to which the youth went in order to live out Martin Luther King's vision of peaceful demonstration? (2×1) (2)

3.4.3 According to the information in Source 3D(1), what was the reaction to this specific photo-

graph? Use details from the caption to support your answer. (2×1) (2)

3.5 *Study Source 3E to answer the following questions:*

3.5.1 What evidence is there in Source 3E that proves that racist segregation practically doesn't exist in the USA today? Quote from the source to support your answer. (1×1) (1)

3.5.2 Explain in your own words why the 'Southern Bloc of Senators' protested so strongly when the Bill came before the Senate in March 1964. (3×1) (3)

[50]

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Instructions

Choose at least ONE question from Section B. Your essay should be 900–1 000 words.

QUESTION 4.1: COLD WAR – CHINA

Explain why Communist China's relations with its neighbouring states (Tibet, India, Vietnam and Taiwan) included both co-operation and conflict during the Cold War era.
[50]

OR

QUESTION 4.2: COLD WAR – VIETNAM

Explain why the Vietnam War was fought so bitterly and over such a long period.
[50]

QUESTION 5: INDEPENDENT AFRICA [Focus: Congo and Tanzania]

> 'Hearts are the strongest when they beat in response to noble ideals.'
> (Ralph Bunche)

Show how this quotation could be applied to events in the Congo and Tanzania after each became independent. In your essay, discuss how the Congo became a pawn in the Cold War and the introduction of African Socialism in Tanzania.
[50]

QUESTION 6: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS: US CIVIL RIGHTS AND BLACK POWER MOVEMENTS

> 'Black Power ... calls for black people to consolidate behind their own, so that they can bargain from a position of strength.'
> (Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton)

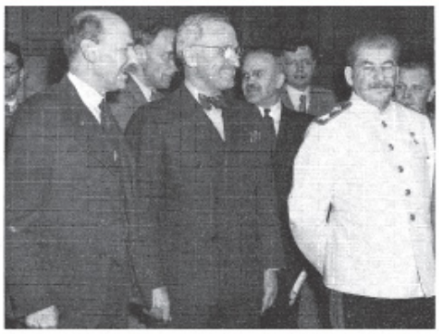
Assess the role and impact of Black Power leaders, such as Stokely Carmichael and Michael X, in the USA during the 1960s and 1970s.
[50]

SOURCES FOR QUESTION 1: THE COLD WAR [Focus: Origins]

Key question: How and why did the Cold War begin?

Source 1A *E. Rayner, R. Stapley and J. Watson*, International Affairs since 1919, *Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986, page 198*

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at the Yalta Conference, February 1945



Attee, Truman and Stalin at the Potsdam Conference, July 1945

Source 1B *Derek Heater*, Our World this Century, *Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, page 118*

A contemporary French political poster commenting on Stalin's takeover of Eastern Europe

A contemporary Soviet poster showing wealth and poverty in the USA. The large figure represents a poor American and the small one a rich businessman.

Source 1C *In his book* Rise to Globalism, *Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1980, Stephan Ambrose wrote:*

> The Truman doctrine came close to shutting the door against any revolution, since the terms of 'free people' and 'anti-communist' were thought to be synonymous. All the Greek government, or any dictatorship, had to do to get American aid was to claim that its opponents were Communist.

Source 1D *An extract from the Truman Doctrine*

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. If Greece should fall, confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the Middle East. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining those freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world.

SOURCES FOR QUESTION 2: INDEPENDENT AFRICA [Focus: Africa in the Cold War

Key question: How was Angola affected by the Cold War?

Source 2A *An article on Angola written by Michael Clough for the* Los Angeles Times *in 1990*

Los Angeles Times

U.S. Administration Keeps Cold War Hot in Angola: Foreign policy: The case for aid to UNITA is weak, but domestic politics and the corrupt government in Luanda keep the money flowing.

November 18, 1990 | Michael Clough is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations

Since 1975, at least 300,000 people have died, directly or indirectly, because of the civil war in Angola. Another 40,000 have lost one or more limbs, mostly from land-mine explosions. As many as a million people – of a population of 9 million to 10 million – have fled their homes. The combined effects of war and drought may soon put 1.9 million at risk of famine, relief agencies estimate.

Primary blame for this senseless war rests with the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Workers Party (MPLA) and UNITA. But their bloody pursuits have been abetted and sustained by arms and advisers from a variety of foreign countries, including the Soviet Union and the United States.

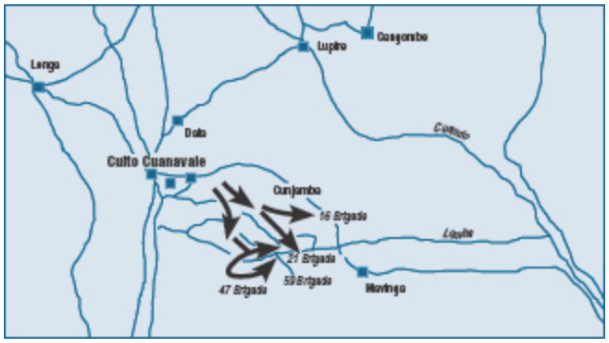
The Reagan Administration achieved its two objectives in Angola. All but a small contingent of Cuban troops have withdrawn from Angola as part of a deal to bring about the independence of neighboring Namibia; and, as most conservatives acknowledge, the Soviet threat to U.S. interests in the Third World has evaporated.

Source 2B *This secondary source gives an overview of the conflict in Angola between 1975 and 2002. From http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan_Civil_War*

The Angolan Civil War was a major civil conflict in the Southern African state of Angola, beginning in 1975 and continuing, with some interludes, until 2002. The war began immediately after Angola became independent from Portugal in November 1975. Prior to this, a decolonisation conflict had taken place in 1974–75, following the Angolan War of Independence. The Civil War was primarily a struggle for power between two former liberation movements, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). At the same time, it served as a surrogate battleground for the Cold War, due to heavy intervention by major opposing powers such as the Soviet Union and the United States.

Source 2C *A map from a report on the Angolan War, 10 September 1987 (From Richard All-*

port, www.rhodesia.nl/cuito.htm). The arrows show the route of the FAPLA offensive.



Source 2D *This article was published following the death of Jonas Savimbi. From http://articles.cnn.com/keyword/jonas-savimbi*

A rebel with charisma and guile

February 23, 2002

Jonas Savimbi was a key player in the Cold War struggle for dominance in Africa but became internationally isolated after he resisted democracy. He rejected three peace deals designed to end the fighting because they did not give him control of the country. The United Nations blamed Savimbi for wrecking international peace efforts. Although he had not been seen for several years, his animosity toward President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who has ruled since 1977, repeatedly thwarted attempts by the international community to end the fighting.

Source 2E *This table on US trade with Africa was quoted in C.J. Joubert*, History for Std 10, *Nasou, Cape Town, 1986, page 220*

USA trade with Africa			
Year	Trade in millions of $		Trade balance
	Export to Africa	Imports from Africa	
1960	793	534	259
1965	1 229	878	351
1970	1 580	1 113	467
1976	5 195	12 604	7 409

Source 2F *This source from http://www.bbc.co.uk discusses the role of the Soviet Union in Angola.*

The Story of Africa – Soviet support

For its part the Soviet Union was happy to give military support to the governments of Angola and Mozambique and to the ANC. They had tried to achieve their goals of majority rule through peaceful means and failed. Now they had to contemplate using violent means.

Aside from military aid, the Soviet Union also offered a number of educational scholarships to young people, mainly in the former English and Portuguese territories.

But the Soviet Union gave little in the way of aid or trade. There was no great Soviet strategy for taking over Africa, and generally the Soviet Union was under-informed about history, political structures and the needs of the countries it supported.

Key question: How did the philosophy of passive resistance influence the Civil Right Movement?

The extracts below give different perspectives on the Civil Rights Movement in the USA.

Source 3A *Michael Scott-Baumann discusses the non-violent resistance promoted by Martin Luther King; in his book* The USA since 1919, *Arnold, 1986, page 47*

Martin Luther King ... He believed that blacks should oppose segregation by resisting in a peaceful non-violent manner. He called on them to march and to demonstrate: ' ... to resist without bitterness; to be cursed and not reply; to be beaten and not hit back.' In that way, they would show up the injustice of segregation and make whites feel ashamed and guilty. There were already some white people in the civil rights movement. Soon many more would be won over. As Martin Luther King said: 'This is not a conflict between the Negroes and the whites. This is only a conflict between justice and injustice.'

Source 3B *A description of the Freedom Rides by Michael Scott-Baumann*, The USA since 1919, *Arnold, 1986, page 49*

In 1961 groups of young people, both black and white, set out on Freedom Rides. They rode together on buses through Southern states like Alabama and Mississippi where blacks and whites were still kept apart on buses and in bus stations. The freedom riders were beaten up, buses were burnt and in Montgomery there was a riot. The riders gained huge publicity for their cause.

Source 3C *From http://www.dipity.com/mharrington/Civil-Rights-Movement/*

During the integration, nine African-American teens went to a white school in Little Rock, Arkansas. On September 23, 1957, the first day of school, white mobs were surrounding the school. The nine teens had to go in from the back and exit from the back. It was so dangerous for the teens to go to school and inside the school that each one had their own patroller to walk with them where ever they went. But that didn't stop angry protesters from throwing things at them, or cursing and more. Unfortunately one of the nine teens named Melba Patillo had gotten stabbed and she was almost blinded by some kind of acid that was sprayed into her eyes. Luckily the patroller threw water over her eyes which saved her eyesight. After a few weeks, the patrollers left, and the nine students were on their own. One student named Minnijean Brown was suspended for dumping her lunch on two white boys because they were insulting her. And then she was suspended again for calling a girl 'white trash'. In spite of the things that the other students did to the nine students, none were suspended. The other eight students successfully finished the school year.

Source 3D(1) *High school students are hit by a high-pressure water jet from a firehose during the Children's March in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963, as photographed by Charles Moore. Images like this one, printed in* Life, *inspired international support for the demonstrators. http://www.global1.youth-leader.org/2011/10/how-a-march-by-children-ended-segregation-in-usas-most-segregated-town/*

Source 3D(2) *This source shows a black student (Elizabeth Eckford) walking to school surrounded by white students shouting at her, from http://kwekudeetripdownmemory-lane.blogspot.com/2012/07/elizabeth-eckford-and-dorothy-counts_2879.html*

Source 3E *This source discusses the passing of the Civil Rights Act. From http://buzzle.-com/articles/1960s-civil-rights-movement-in-america.html*

The march on Washington, although criticised by a section of African-American leaders, had succeeded in bringing the issue of racist segregation to the forefront. President John F. Kennedy had talked about the need for a civil rights bill before the march on Washington, and the bill for an Act was drafted in June 1963. After considerable strengthening from the House Judiciary Committee, which was headed by Emanuel Celler, the bill was halted in November by the segregationist Rules Committee chairman, Howard Smith.

After the unfortunate assassination of JFK in 1963, Lyndon Johnson, who supported the bill, called upon the senators to pass the bill to honour the legacy of the deceased Kennedy. In the light of the tragedy, Howard Smith, now faced with the embarrassment of having bottled the bill, let the bill pass. The bill came before the Senate in March 1964 and was signed into law on July 2, 1964, despite heavy protestations from a Southern Bloc of Senators.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 officially ended segregation based on race, nationality and gender (Howard Smith, who was a feminist, although not in support of desegregation, had added the gender clause), but it took a lot of time before integration was accepted as the way of life, especially in the Southern states. Racist segregation is now virtually absent in the United States, thanks to the tireless efforts of everyone associated with this inspiring movement.

Grade 12 History

EXEMPLAR SEPTEMBER EXAMINATION

Paper 2 (Topics 4, 5 and 6)

Time: 3 hours
Total: 150 marks

Instructions:

1 This question paper consists of SIX questions.
Questions 1 and 4: Civil resistance 1970s and 1980s
Questions 2 and 5: The coming of democracy in South Africa and South Africans coming to terms with the past
Questions 3 and 6: The end of the Cold War and a new world order
Questions 1, 2 and 3 are source-based questions.
Questions 4, 5 and 6 are essay questions.
2 Each question is worth 50 marks.
3 Candidates are required to answer THREE questions. ONE (1) source-based question, ONE (1) essay question and ONE (1) other, either an essay or a source-based question.
4 Learners may answer two questions on the same topic.
5 When candidates answer questions, they are required to demonstrate application of knowledge, skills and insight.
6 Rewriting of the sources as answers will be to the disadvantage of candidates.
7 Write neatly and legibly.

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Choose at least ONE question from Section A. Refer to the sources in the Addendum to answer the questions in Section A.

QUESTION 1: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s AND 1980s [Focus: Black Consciousness]

Key question: What was Black Consciousness and how did the state respond to it?

Study Source 1A and answer the questions that follow.

1.1 According to Source 1A, what was Biko's opinion of the nature of a true liberal? Quote words from the source to support your answer. (2×1) (2)

1.2 Using your background knowledge, provide a definition for the term Black Consciousness. (3×1) (3)

1.3 According to Source 1A, how effective was Steve Biko's 'blacks had to go it alone' mentality? Explain your answer by referring to the source. (2×2) (4)

1.4 What is the author of Source 1A suggesting about the response from the government in terms of the influence of Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement? (2×2) (4)

Study Source 1B and answer the questions that follow.

1.5 According to Source 1B, what was the reason for the establishment of the South African Students Organisation? Quote words from the source to support your answer. (2×1) (2)

1.6 With reference to Source 1B, explain in your own words at least two aims of the BCM. (2×2) (4)

1.7 Briefly explain what the author of Source 1B means by 'conscientisation'. (3×1) (3)

Study Source 1C and answer the questions that follow.

1.8 According to Source 1C, how did the South African police treat Steve Biko from the moment that he was in detention in Port Elizabeth? (3×1) (3)

1.9 The heading of Source 1C seems opinionated and one-sided. Would you agree with this statement? Use information from the source to support your answer. (2×2) (4)

1.10 What evidence is there that other Black Consciousness leaders were also targeted by the state? (3×1) (3)

1.11 By comparing Source 1A with Source 1C, what was the nature of the government response to the Black Consciousness Movement's influence in general? Explain your answer by referring to both sources. (3×2) (6)

Study Source 1D and answer the questions that follow.

1.12 Use your understanding of the historical context to explain the term 'Solidarity' that forms part of the heading of the poster in Source 1D. (2×1) (2)

1.13 With reference to Source 1D, what was the Black People's Convention? (2×1) (2)

1.14 Political posters are mostly perceived to be a form of propaganda. Source 1D is a poster that was used after Steve Biko's death. Can this poster be seen as a form of political propaganda, and does it therefore influence the historical value of the poster as a historical source? Motivate your answer. (3×1) (3)

1.15 Provide evidence from Source 1D that proves that the poster in this source was utilised after Steve Biko's death. (1×1) (1)

Study Source 1E and answer the questions that follow.

1.16 By comparing Source 1B with Source 1E, which source would you deem to be more reliable, or accurate as a historical source? Provide one reason for your answer. (2×1) (2)

1.17 What was Sifiso Ndlovu's view on black students' destiny during the 1970s? Quote words from the source to support your answer. (2×1) (2)

[50]

QUESTION 2: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY [Focus: The Truth and Reconciliation Committee]

Key question: What role did the TRC play in the process of reconciliation?

Study Source 2A and answer the questions that follow.

2.1 In Source 2A the word 'reconciliation' is used. Use your own knowledge to explain how Tutu hoped that the TRC would promote reconciliation. (3×2) (6)

2.2 Identify the figure at the front of the group of people standing at the edge of the cliff. (2×1) (2)

2.3 What position did this figure hold within the TRC, and what role did he play as such? (2×2) (4)

2.4 What message is the cartoonist putting across about the work to which the TRC was dedicated? Use details from the cartoon to support your answer. (3×2) (6)

Study Source 2B and answer the questions that follow.

2.5 According to Source 2B, Archbishop Tutu refers to the past as 'a beast'. Explain in your own words why you think he makes this statement. (3×1) (3)

2.6 With your understanding of the historical context, explain what is meant by '... having asked and received forgiveness...' (Source 2B) (2×1) (2)

2.7 According to Source 2B, identify some of the aims Archbishop Tutu had for the TRC. Quote words from the source to support your answer. (2×2) (4)

2.8 Taking your answer to question 2.7 into account, comment on the usefulness of Source 2B as historical evidence. (2×2) (4)

Study Source 2C and answer the questions that follow.

2.9 By comparing Source 2B with Source 2C, suggest why these two sources seem to have a slightly different view on the purpose of the TRC. (2×2) (4)

2.10 According to Source 2C, what was the intention of the TRC? Quote words from the source to support your answer. (2×1) (2)

2.11 A blog is a frequently updated discussion or informational site available on the Web. Source 2C is a typical example of such a forum discussion. In reference to the textual and visual information in Source 2C, can such a blog be regarded as a reliable source of evidence? Explain your answer in full. (3×2) (6)

Study Source 2D and answer the questions that follow.

2.12 According to Source 2D, what is suggested about the real cause of the death of Suluman Saloojee? Quote from the source to support your answer. (2×1) (2)

2.13 The account that Rokoya Saloojee gave of the events that took place during the inquest (Source 2D) can be seen as oral history. How reliable is Source 2D? Explain your answer. (2×1) (2)

Study Source 2E and answer the questions that follow.

2.14 What did Simpson (Source 2E) want from the TRC? (2×1) (2)

2.15 How do you know that the Church Street Bombers did not survive the attack? Quote from Source 2E to support your answer. (1×1) (1)

[50]

QUESTION 3: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER [Focus: The new world order]

Key question: How does globalisation affect the world environment?

Study Source 3A and answer the questions that follow.

3.1 What does the figure on the left side of the cartoon portray? Explain your answer. (3×1) (3)

3.2 Three different continents are represented by the three figures on the right side of the cartoon. Identify each continent in the cartoon and explain why each of these figures would represent these

continents. (2×3) (6)

3.3 Taking your background knowledge into consideration, what message is the cartoonist putting across about the attitude of these three figures towards the developed world? (3×1) (3)

3.4 What is the message of this cartoon? Explain your answer. (2×2) (4)

Study Source 3B and answer the questions that follow.

3.5 Use your understanding of the historical context and the information in Source 3B to explain in your own words the term 'globalisation'. (3×2) (6)

3.6 With reference to Source 3B, what, according to the critics, were the accelerated results of globalisation? Quote words from the source to support your answer. (3×1) (3)

3.7 What, according to Source 3B, needs to happen for globalisation to become sustainable? (2×1) (2)

3.8 According to Source 3B, identify the three reasons given by scientists that affected the world environment negatively. (3×1) (3)

Study Source 3C and answer the questions that follow.

3.9 After reading through Source 3C carefully, would you say that the author of the source is biased? Validate your answer by referring to the source. (3×1) (3)

3.10 With reference to Source 3C, what is the message the author is trying to convey? (3×2) (6)

Study Source 3D and answer the questions that follow.

3.11 Compare Sources 3C and 3D. Explain how Source 3D illustrates what is mentioned in Source 3C. (3×2) (6)

3.12 What issues are raised in Source 3D that are not mentioned in Source 3C? (5×1) (5)

[50]

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Choose at least ONE question from Section B. Your essay should be 900–1 000 words.

QUESTION 4

'Workers and trade unions played a key role in the protests.'
With reference to the above statement, show how resistance on the labour front placed pressure on the apartheid state in South Africa from 1973 onwards.
[50]

QUESTION 5

Identify and analyse the different forms of violence that took place in South Africa in 1992 and 1993 and which stalled the negotiation process.
[50]

QUESTION 6

To what extent did the ending of the Cold War influence events in South Africa at the time?
[50]

Paper 2 Addendum

SOURCES FOR QUESTION 1: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s AND 1980s [Focus: Black Consciousness]

Key question: What was Black Consciousness and how did the state respond to it?

Source 1A *From* The Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, *Reader's Digest, Cape Town, 1995, page 443*

To Biko, a true liberal was a white person who directed all his energies into educating other whites and preparing them to accept a future system of majority rule. Until this came about, blacks had to go it alone, he argued. Black Consciousness had an immediate appeal for thousands of black South Africans. Although it was not an organisation, it spawned a number of bodies that espoused its philosophy. By 1972 a Black People's Convention had been set up to act as an umbrella body to co-ordinate its adherents. In 1977, however, Black Consciousness was dealt a series of devastating body blows.

In September of that year, Biko died after 26 days in police detention; and in October Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger banned 17 organisations and two newspapers ('*World*' and '*Weekend World*'), all of which he claimed supported Black Consciousness.

Source 1B *From http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/multimedia.php?id=28*

In 1969, when organised black opposition to apartheid was virtually quiet, university students formed an exclusively black student organisation, the South African Students Organization (SASO). This was the beginning of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) that focused on cultivating the ability of black people to change the oppressive situation in South Africa by rejecting the ideology (and eventually the system) of apartheid. Black Consciousness (BC) adherents sought to liberate black people psychologically through 'conscientisation,' or the realisation of black self-worth and the need for black activism. They stressed economic self-reliance and a return to African culture and values. They also redefined 'black' to include all people of colour who experienced racial discrimination under apartheid, and they worked to create a united black front.

Source 1C *From Martin Roberts*, History Project – South Africa *1948-94, Ad Wes Lon Education, 1996, page 82*

The murder of Steve Biko

Biko's reputation grew both in South Africa and internationally. The ideas of Black Consciousness caught on particularly among young blacks. The government banned him in 1973 and then detained him without trial for a few months in 1976. In 1977 they had him arrested again. The Port Elizabeth police kept him naked in a cell for 18 days. A five-man interrogation team beat him up so badly that he went into a coma. 'There was a scuffle,' said the officer in charge. 'Mr Biko hit his head against a wall.' He was then driven unconscious and naked under a blanket in the back of a Land Rover 1,000 kilometres for treatment in a Pretoria hospital. There he died, aged 30. A close colleague on the community project work, Mapetla Mohapi, had already been murdered in detention. The police story was that he had hanged himself, using his jeans. Doctor Ramphele was banished to northern Transvaal, the clinic and all the other projects closed down and most of the other Black Consciousness leaders banned or detained.

Source 1D *This is a poster made for the funeral of Steve Biko. From* http://zar.co.za/biko.htm

Source 1E *Sifiso Ndlovu, a historian who was a student in Soweto in 1976. From* The Apartheid Museum, Understanding Apartheid, *Oxford University Press, 2006, page 70*

I do not remember any liberation movement, such as the Black Consciousness Movement or the South African Student Movement (SASM) contributing to our daily meetings and discussions. In short, as students we faced our own destiny and problems.

Key question: What role did the TRC play in the process of reconciliation?

Source 2A *A cartoon drawn by Zapiro showing elements of the TRC process, including media coverage and the perpetrators and victims. From* http://truth.wwl.wits.ac.za/index.php

Source 2B *Archbishop Tutu explains the purpose of the TRC. (From Christopher Culpin*, South Africa since 1948, *John Murray, 2000, page 137)*

Having looked at the beast of the past in the eye, having asked and received forgiveness and having made amends, let us shut the door on the past – not in order to forget it, but in order not to allow it to imprison us. Let us move into the glorious future of a new kind of society where people count, not because of biological irrelevancies … but because they are persons of infinite worth created in the image of God.

Source 2C *An article written by Chrystal Marie – posted on 22 February 2012 on the blog of a charity organisation called QU 301 – South Africa included the photograph below. (From* http://qu301southafrica.com/2012/02/22/truth-and-reconciliation-commission/)

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is a court-like organisation that was established to help deal with any issues that occurred during apartheid (between the years of 1960-1994).

Source 2D *This source is an extract from the South African Press Association report on the TRC, 30 April 1996. (Quoted in Christopher Culpin*, South Africa since 1948, *John Murray, 2000, page 137)*

Police killed my husband, widow tells truth commission

The widow of Suluman Saloojee, who died in police custody in 1964, said his death had left her with a lingering hatred for some whites. 'If I see a white policeman I hate him, I am sorry to say,' Rokoya Saloojee told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the second day of its hearings in Johannesburg.

Suluman Saloojee, a 32-year-old solicitor's clerk, was active in the Transvaal Indian Congress and the ANC. He was detained by police on 6 July 1964 and on 9 September allegedly fell to his death from the seventh floor of police headquarters. The inquest into Saloojee's death lasted just five minutes, Rokoya said. The magistrates had not allowed her to ask questions and said 'That is all' when she asked why her husband's clothes were full of blood.

Source 2E *This source is an extract from the South African Press Association report on the TRC, 30 April 1996. (Quoted in Christopher Culpin*, South Africa since 1948, *John Murray, 2000, page 137)*

Church street bomb survivor wants justice

James Simpson was injured by a car bomb on 20 May 1983, in Church St, Pretoria, probably planted by the ANC, which killed 19 people. Simpson told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that he had been working in his office when the car bomb went off. Shards of window glass had sprayed across the room, cutting his face and leaving splinters in his eyes. 'When I got to the street, I saw cars burning and injured people lying around. My sympathies are with the injured who have never fully recovered.'

In order to forgive the bombers, Simpson said, he needed to know who they were. The two men who planted the bomb were killed in the explosion. Asked by Commission chairman Archbishop Tutu what he wanted for the people who ordered the bombing, Simpson said 'Simply that they would admit that they gave the orders'.

SOURCES FOR QUESTION 3: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER [Focus: The new world order]

Key question: How does globalisation affect the world environment?

Source 3A *From* www.polyp.org.uk

Source 3B *From* http://www.ehow.co.uk/info_8408133_effects-globalization-21st-century.html

The Effects of Globalisation in the 21st Century

Written by Kelsey Mowatt

Globalisation is widely described as the process of nations and societies becoming more interconnected and interdependent, due to political, economic and social changes. While globalisation is nothing new historically speaking, due to technological advancements and the widespread adherence to economic liberalisation over the last few decades, the effects of Globalisation will continue to be significant well into the 21st century.

While proponents of Globalisation cite the socioeconomic improvements that they believe are a result of the phenomenon, many scientists contend that years of increased industrialisation, heightened commercial activities and government deregulation have affected the world's environment adversely. According to critics, Globalisation has accelerated climate change through increased fossil fuel emissions, further polluted many water sources and territories and dramatically increased deforestation. Although United Nations' member states and environmental groups as well as other international organisations have often worked together to enact various agreements that are designed to protect the Earth's ecosystem, many scientists believe further steps need to be taken if Globalisation is to be sustainable.

Source 3C *From* The South African Institute of International Affairs, *1995*

The basic assumption in the SAP (Structural Adjustment Programmes) approach is that reforms will increase savings (and hence investments), productivity and exports – all of which in turn will raise the incomes of the working poor. SAPs require a greater reliance on market forces to determine prices and allocation of production input and finance. There are so many shortcomings to this approach. Numerous recent studies have shown the fallacy of the intellectual arguments behind such a strategy. What is important for us to note here is that the SAPs are not working. In fact this approach is causing more problems than it is supposed to solve.

Source 3D *From* Spot on Social Sciences Grade 9, *Heinemann, page 41*

Impact of SAPs on developing countries

The implementation of SAPs in developing countries has intensified poverty and decreased the quality of life for most of the poor. Vital services for the poor that were previously provided by the government, such as health care, education and social welfare, have largely disappeared. If the poor want to access such services, they now have to pay for them. The public service, which was a source of employment for many, has been cut substantially, thus increasing employment and thereby making life even harder. Furthermore, as a result of the 'debt trap', money has been flowing internationally from the South to the North. The poor are financing rich countries through the servicing of their debt. This outflow of money has seriously limited Africa's ability to grow, reduce poverty and fight diseases that affect its citizens.

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All page numbers refer to the printed book.

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